CIVIC GOODS AND THE MACHINE IN WESTCHESTER: AN
UNAUTHORIZED MINORITY REPORT: THE CASE OF NEW
ROCHELLE AND MOUNT VERNON NEW YORK

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To my people from around the way, still living in the back and behind.
To Gram and her Kookabuuro.

Most of all thanks to our hero Dr. Kathryn Morgan.
Looking over across at us, brows furrowed, she would always warn us about the historic record, ‘If it was important enough to leave out, then it is important enough to put it back in’

And, finally, need I add that I who speak here am bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of them that live within the Veil? WEB DuBois Souls of Black Folk 1903

New Rochelle 2015
Abstract:
The purpose of this study is to look at what impact shifting demographics in a suburb of New York City has on publicly funded institutions as waves of immigrant groups arrive and then establish themselves. The study answers the question: Does political participation and representation matter; does access to the polity transform subsequent newcomers to the suburbs equally? Is there a case for reparations?

I examine the historical record and closely review both the literal and figurative paths that led to the success of some groups as well as the demise of others in two cities in Westchester County New Rochelle and later, Mt Vernon from first contact to the present. I demonstrate how civic machines evolved, how they were fueled enforced, and the impact that residential demographics have had on the distribution of public resources, from the early colonial period, through the wars, until today.
INTRODUCTION

Just how did early immigrants succeed when most came with little or nothing more than what they could carry, not speaking the language, and very little if any formal training? While there is a great deal of literature on the process of assimilation, how did many waves of disparate people arrive, settle, and successfully navigate their way up the economic ladder when other groups did not seem to get very far at all.

Measuring success qualitatively in educational attainment, quality of housing, and control of the political establishment, these well worn paths became labyrinthine to subsequent waves of immigrant and ethnic minorities. Even as the numbers of minority groups expanded, real household income for native born African Americans did not, asset accumulation and land ownership was negligible, subjugation to both mob violence and state sponsored policing increased, but participation in civil service did not, and control over civic institutions lagged even when political representation increased.
While in general immigrants to the suburbs after WWII seemed to follow nearly the same path of earlier groups in employment and housing, the goal of upward mobility through machine politics worked reasonably well for immigrants from Europe independent of language, but was largely elusive to those communities of “native” born blacks and those of Hispanic descent. Many entrenched ethnic groups of color seeking this route only found themselves right back where they started even generations later. These groups were systematically denied access to the very scaffolding that enabled others to climb so far- access to credit, land ownership, citizenship, freedom from brutality- and this has entrenched a class of “have nots”.

In an attempt to narrow the scope of work I will analyze the impact that a specific economic policy enacted through voter initiative in the late 1990’s, namely the tax cap, has had on the tax payer funded institution of the public library. The Public Library of New Rochelle and Mount Vernon in the immediate circumstance serves as an important example of a civic “machine”. Libraries are the institutions that bridge the digital divide for the less advantaged in two neighboring large suburban / near urban communities each with either a fairly large minority population, or a majority minority population, and is funded primarily through property tax dollars. I will take a cursory look at these policies in Civic Goods: A Minority Report
other communities to see how the flavor of the public discourse and outcomes vary based on demographics, and try to make some conclusions based on what I find.

In order to really understand the mechanisms at play on the local level in two urban suburban cities located in Westchester NY, it helped me to review the existing conditions of the demographic, political, social and economic landscape. While these factors can lend at least a schematic plan for this study, a more comprehensive submittal was required in order for me to fully appreciate how history dictates the status of the citizen, housing, property taxes, and the funding of public institutions in these communities even today.

I will expend a modicum of ink first blueprinting the underlying historical and moral context within which the racial and ethnic struggles for equity in these communities have occurred. I want to make sure that I completely understand how the movements in each historical period impacted my study area- New Rochelle, and later Mt. Vernon. Did the sweep of history pass these cities by or were citizens of these towns involved in the national issues of the day on the local level? Did these popular movements improve outcomes for all groups? A central question here is if participation in the body politic matters- does Civic Goods: A Minority Report
participation in the traditional political process pay off in equitable civic dividends for all members of these communities; is the "traditional" process the method that all groups used to move ahead? How has each city organized its electorate and how have these systems evolved to expand representation, how closely do these local governments reflect their constituent populations over time and what are the long-term benefits of the invasion succession model and machine model politics to new comers and those born here?

I will draw portraits of these two diverse communities, and tell the story of how each wrestle with the issues of race and impoverishment amidst affluence. And what are the fruits born of the often hand-to-hand struggle to effect political power, justice and social parity? I contend that in racially and ethnically diverse suburban and near urban communities the political establishment caters historically to property owners who tend to fund guns over butter, while in homogeneous suburban communities this is less true. I demonstrate that there exists a link on link chain of affluence for those descendants of the beneficiaries of the original land grab, who through legal and extra legal measures, plundered the land, labor and intellectual property of first the indigenous people and subsequently the Africans.

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Throughout each period, from the first contact, colonial and In the modern era, mob violence, state sponsored policing, and terrorism have characterized the mechanism of white control and cultivates xenophobia: a machine “partnered robbery of the franchise with robbery of the purse”\(^1\) an assault on native born African-Americans and Hispanics that continues today. In a nation where the wealth of white households was 13 times the median wealth of black households; the wealth of white households is now more than 10 times the wealth of Hispanic households, compared with nine times the wealth in 2010.\(^2\) In the banking industry where lenders historically and disproportionately targeted minorities for high cost, high risk subprime lending, which has resulted in disproportionately higher rates of default and foreclosure for minority African American and Hispanic borrowers to increasingly publicized cell phone tapings of ordinary police actions in the African-American community, documenting the extralegal killings of unarmed black men.

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In the end by taking a sectional view of the community and presenting a study of the public libraries in each city I hope to make the case for libraries as institutions that can serve as a legitimate machine for newcomers—since the really effective graft and patronage models are considered extralegal, at least libraries are better than nothing. As public libraries provide access points for e-government resources, employment services, free high speed Internet facilities, a bridge over the digital and linguistic divide for low-income and immigrant populations in communities nationwide, they are providing essential paths for upward mobility. Public libraries are increasingly important facilities for those unable to access these resources otherwise due to immigration status, age or income, but are being marginalized as antiquated and anachronistic entities no longer deserving of funding by taxpayer-homeowners who have access to high speed Internet in their homes and neighborhoods.

School district libraries are a class of taxing authorities in some states, as such special interest voters have the ability to wrest control of these institutions from municipal government; thereby gaining control of a small but important stream of influence in the community. We strive to demonstrate how tax allocation and public finance mechanisms impact the function and existence of this most open and accessible of civic institutions.
Having a better basic context from which then to view the whole picture of local finance priorities, municipal expenditure, and voter initiatives vis a vis community needs in the near urban suburban community from an historical perspective, I will ask myself again and again over the course of this review if the system is working for the group that is at the bottom; the newcomer, striver: these newly arrived - or freed Americans?. Are they able to freely form associations, schools, establish trade organizations, select leaders that represent their interests and form churches wherein they collectively take control of the public realm and fashioned their early institutions to provide for their material and spiritual needs? Did they have demonstrably more power, freedom from violence, increased access to and control over resources, markets and credit, infrastructure improvements and more self-determination then they ever could dream of possessing wherever they came from? I found that the advantages from the use of enslaved labor and assets from the outset continue like a chain, link on link to enhance the white families who laid claim to it then as now. That newcomers fare differently based on internal and external factors, is nothing new. When newcomers have the ability to create levers of opportunity-to define a market territory, combined with the structural support of the polity, access to finance, asset accumulation, and free use of the intellectual property or labor factors of other groups combined with control over their own labor and factors of Civic Goods: A Minority Report
production, its pretty simple; they elevate; income -education- housing-and health outcomes of the immigrant group improve. They move up and disperse, and the affluence grows in subsequent generations. Overall the system really, really works for them. While I cannot claim to know precisely what is going on, I will at the very least seek to highlight local examples that may serve to illustrate some broader areas of consideration in not only the property tax debate, but in questions related to voting, tax, finance, equitable public policy, reparations and the structural inequalities that have led to the establishment of an enduring underclass. The overarching goal is to improve equity, particularly vertical equity, in the distribution of resources and, ultimately, to improve the efficiency of how resources are used in our communities.
The First Wave: Invasion-Succession-Extermination

"Invasion and succession" were concepts coined to try to explain the dynamic of neighborhood evolution when ethnic groups moved in, moved up, and moved out to accommodate newcomers in a cyclic pattern that was later expanded to indicate periods of growth—subsidence—demolition—and restoration. In the pre-contact era prior to the European invasion the southern portion of the 440 square miles of what is now known as Westchester was a bucolic, thriving, communal seasonal hunting ground dotted with established villages and a aqua-cultural tradition - seine fishing and quahog, oyster, mussel and all manner of bivalve harvesting from the pristine deep rocky waters off of Long Island, up to Connecticut and beyond to the coastal areas and tidal flats of the Sound shore. The indigenous communities had bountiful resources and vibrant trade. The Pequots struggled among the coastal and inland tribes for dominance in the trade of pelts and forest goods using the wampum or finely worked white whelk shells and purple quahog they were known for as currency. They used well established routes for transporting their goods -overland walking trails north from what is now Manhattan and the Bronx snaking through the brush through New Rochelle and North and west to the Hudson. These were the stomping grounds of the Munsee speaking peoples including the Siwanoy, Kitchawong, Nipmug, Lenape, and Tankiteke Indians. They plied their trade up and down...
ancient roads, far safer than the rocky coastal lanes- which they did also use-
buying and selling coastal goods, and inland products within the large and
complex Wappinger Confederacy. ³

There is little doubt that the aboriginal communities along the eastern shore and
into the woodlands of what is presently Westchester had carved out well worn
trade routes and controlled access through these areas completely in the early
1600's, though they were subject to the powerful Pequot tribes of Eastern
Connecticut to whom they were obliged to pay tribute or "tolls". ⁴ "Siwanoy (from
their having been a seacoast people, their name may be a corruption of Siwanak,
'salt people,' a dialectic form of Suwanak, a name applied by the Delawares to
the English). Although there is much debate about the affiliations and tribal
names of these indigenous peoples,⁵ Hodge in 1910 counts the,"Wappinger
proper, Manhattan, Weckquaesgeek, Sint-Sink, Kitchawanc, Tankiteke,

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³ Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1975)
Notchpeem, Siwanoy and Nottabesec or Sequins as nine of the many tribes of the Wappinger confederacy.

Formerly living along the North shore of Long Island sound from New York to Norwalk, Connecticut, and inland as far as at least White Plains the Siwanoy became the label used most frequently to describe this complex interconnecting...
community. They were one of the seven tribes of the seacoast and had a number of villages, the principal one in 1640 being Poningo." 7

The first Europeans to claim and settle lands between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers, a region they named Nieuw Nederland were Dutch corporate emissaries. The decades after European arrival dominated by the company men-profiteers and patroons of the Dutch West India Company -were marked by a pattern of peaceful trade, seemingly lawful efficient land conveyance through treaty, title and deed transfers followed by marked hostility and relentless violence. Under the patroon system, individuals who brought fifty settlers along with livestock and farm implements to the colony received large tracts of land. The "Company Men" studied aboriginal agricultural production, propagation, cultivation and irrigation techniques, botanical pharmacopoeia, even utilized the aboriginal wampum extensively as currency themselves well into the period and up until the American Revolution as there were few means of fabricating or securing reliable coinage. 8

7 Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico: N-Z, Volume 2; Volume 30, Part 2 page 585

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There is some legal scholarship which casts aspersions on the Dutch West Indian Company deed conveyance and title clearing process; in some cases there is no written bill of sale or actual conveyance of title as would have been customary and expected.

The systematic uproot of indigenous communities turned calamitous due to the smallpox epidemic, escalating tensions over land use, livestock, trade, and the Dutch attempt to tax the indigenous people. Now only imagine how that went over in the Indian Confederacy meetings. The Europeans were ruthless in their pursuit of title and *eminent domain* to the land in Westchester, often terrorizing villagers by attacking at night: burning, looting and murdering entire communities. 7 years earlier the western Connecticut tribes- including Mohegan and Algonquins, allied with the English, had armed struggles amongst their

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nations over the fur trade against the competing and powerful Pequot tribes, allied with the Dutch. In a number of increasingly divisive incidents the indigenous groups allied themselves with either the Pequot, the Dutch or the English in skirmishes that escalated the conflict. And, while the small pox epidemic decimated many of the local communities equally, the loss of life and leadership created a vulnerability in the indigenous population that set the stage for what was to come.

The indigenous people of Westchester and Connecticut and their leaders tried everything to negotiate, defend and protect by force the land and their way of life from the outset and especially once it became apparent what the European traders really had in mind. "The names of several of their chiefs occur in Dutch history as well as in the early deeds. Among them are Ann-Hoock alias Wampage, already noticed, who was probably the murderer of Ann Hutchinson, and Mayane, spoken of in 1644 as 'a fierce Indian, who, alone, dared to attack, with bow and arrows, three Christians armed with guns, one of whom he shot dead; and, whilst engaged with the other, was killed by the third,' and his head conveyed to Fort Amsterdam". 10

10 History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River: Their Origin, Manners and Customs; Tribal and sub-Tribal organizations, Wars, Treaties, Etc., etc. By Edward Manning Ruttenber 1872  p 82

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Weakened from the diseases that the first explorers brought along with them the indigenous people of the sound shore found their communities decimated and their leadership diluted. They did no longer travel in any great number the Siwanoy roads & Wappinger Confederacy trails. These became routes used primarily by the newly arrived in America - the Huguenots, the farmers, the British, and Hessian soldiers all travelling from one colonial outpost to the next. Later paved, the dusty trails and Pequot Paths became ‘the ordinary way’, Bay’s Path, or Oldham’s way and later The King’s Highway and are now well-known as The Boston Post Road, becoming Main street as it passes through New Rochelle and many American East coast cities and the portion of US 1 and Interstate 95 as it runs through New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts.  

“Wickquasgeck Trail, carved into the brush of Manhattan by the indigenous community was named Heerestrat, which the British renamed Albany Post Road and later Broadway” 12 Broadway, runs through New York City and continues north as it has since it was a foot trail passing through Mt. Vernon and the interior of Westchester following the Hudson north to Tarrytown and beyond. The coastal access from New Rochelle Sound to the Atlantic and the historic inland transportation routes in southern Westchester to the Hudson and New York City would prove to be an enduring factor in the regions future economic success.

Wappinger war, and the Pound Ridge Massacre were some of the first battles between the locals and the new immigrants from Europe but they represent the culmination of years of struggle between the indigenous peoples and the newcomers throughout the colonial era on the east coast and wherever the Europeans landed. In Westchester, the Dutch having effectively exterminated the indigenous people, drove fragmented Siwanoy family groups north and sold the rest to the West Indies as slaves. The wealth kept moving around—treaty making? it was little more than a shell game.

In 1625 the first enslaved Africans arrive in the Dutch Colony of New Amsterdam. They quickly become the city’s first municipal labor force, clearing land of timber, cutting lumber, cultivating crops, and constructing roads and fortifications.  

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The Dutch surrendered the colony to the British after three naval wars, but negotiated the freedom to continue to live and trade. This is a significant feature of the Invasion-Succession model. Property owners, if they could accept the new government authority did maintain some property rights, and were allowed to continue to live in peace. At turnover the colony was, 

“a multi ethnic, multi religious society...about half of the population was Dutch and the remainder included French (Huguenots & Walloons), Germans, Scandinavians, and small numbers of Jews from Brazil. Settlers were attracted to

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14 New Amsterdam, recently called New York and now recaptured by the Dutch on August 24 1673 (from the Library of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) as captured http://www.siger.org/mauritsstadsnewamsterdam/

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the colony’s promises of freedom of worship, local self-government, and free land that would remain tax-exempt for ten years... \textsuperscript{15}

This account makes no mention of the sizable and growing population of African enslaved labor which at the time had been noted to represent upwards of 18% of the total population. \textsuperscript{16}

Did the central government under the Dutch provide a functioning machine or system representing the needs of the community, providing education, business incentives, facilitating access to low-cost financing, infrastructure, policing of the status quo, capital, corporate support for the settlers and, in addition, did the Dutch provide for their neighbors material and spiritual advancement? Did the system work for the settlers? What of the destitute, aged and diseased amongst them? According to the public record, the Dutch did. The local self government set in place by the Dutch was reflective of the Huguenots, and they did identify the need for both public charity, and mutual aid. Their leadership elected from within represented the special interests of their community "Burgomasters were \textit{ex officio} the chief rulers of the city; the principal church wardens, guardians of


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the poor and of widows and orphans. They held in trust all city property and
managed the same. 17 Schepens (city magistrates) provided for the burial of
friendless strangers. Not entirely based upon altruism, in fact the colonies
secured housing for orphans who were sent from Holland to work in the
households of the newly established colony.18.
I contend that the unfettered \textit{state sponsored} acquisition of land, intellectual property, use of enslaved labor and assets continue like a chain, link upon link, to enhance the white families who laid claim to it; and I think the continued harm is evident as well in the descendants of the enslaved. In 2009 it was reported that, “Claiborne Pell, the quirky, patrician former senator from R.I. who created the college grant program that bears his name and wrote the legislation that established the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, died just after midnight Thursday at his Newport, R.I., home.... Mr. Pell was best known for devising legislation that created the program that has dispensed grants to tens of millions of poor and middle-class college students... The fact was that with Mr. Pell’s vast family wealth, derived from an 18th-century royal charter of land from King George III of England, he could have purchased some of the educational institutions they attended, let alone paid their tuition bills. Mr. Pell, whose ancestors were the original lords of the manor in Pelham Manor, N.Y., lived among the old-money families in Newport. Five of his relatives have been elected to either the House or the Senate, including his

\footnote{A condition in the sale of 1689 was that Leisler or his heirs would provide “John Pell his heirs and assigns, of the said Manor of Pelham ... as an Acknowledgement to the said Manor one fatt calf on every fourer and twentieth day of June Yearly and Every Year forever (if demanded) Photograph of Pell and Leisler descendants by Gay Rosen 2014 Civic Goods: A Minority Report}
father...The Pells traced their New England ancestry to the 1700s and their wealth from vast land holdings in what is now Westchester County, N.Y."20

The cultivation and clearing of the lands of Westchester would wait for the British Lord John Pell who "sold" the land to the Huguenot families that landed on the sound shore by way of La Rochelle France, and the labor of the enslaved. Through a proxy the Huguenots purchased the land for a steal and promptly named it New Rochelle. In addition, the broker Leisler pledged to give- upon request- one fatted calf annually to the descendants of Pell, a curious tradition that continues lightheartedly today. No such tribute has yet been provided for the descendants of the salt people or the slaves who endured theft of service and who still reside in New Rochelle in some number.

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Claiborne Pell, Ex-Senator, Dies at 90 The New York Times
By WILLIAM R. HONAN Published: January 1, 2009

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Roxanne Neilson

Do Unto Others ... with A Vengeance

CHAPTER 2

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From the outset the Calvinist Protestant Huguenots who sought refuge from religious intolerance in France must have felt they would do anything to justify claiming the rich farm land and bountiful waters of the coastal NY sound shore as their own. So they did unto others as had been done to them, and they prayed with a vengeance. Back home in La Rochelle, France a hundred years earlier in 1572 when Catherine de Medici, the power behind the French throne, ordered the assassination of the Huguenot Admiral Coligny their fates were sealed. The attempt left the Admiral wounded but not dead. Catherine - who was no shrinking violet - went into a scorched earth mode and ordered the massacre of all Huguenots, including Coligny.

It is stated again and again in the historical record that the Huguenots were among the wealthiest and most talented class of artisans- master weavers, silk workers and hatters. Upon closer inspection it appears that La Rochelle, (along with the better known market in Nantes) theirs were among the principal French slave ports having participated in the transport of over 130,000 souls in La Rochelle alone.  

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"Between 1671 and 1692, 45 ships put out from La Rochelle, the chief French slaving port at the time."\footnote{Africa and the Americas: Interconnections During the Atlantic World Press, 2005, page 37} France's excoriation of the Calvinists really worked against their economic interests by driving the Huguenots out. It is important to note the desperate circumstances under which the new residents of New Rochelle and Eastchester left their homes and what mindset the colonists had when they were fresh off the boat.

The slaughter of the Protestants began in Paris on the evening of St. Bartholomew's Day and spread to the countryside.

In 1682 Louis XIV threatened them with terrible evils if they failed to convert to Catholicism. His strict religious training, death of his father in his own youth, his mother's lover Cardinal Mazarin who ruled in Louis' name when he was the child king, and slytherin advisers up until he personally took control of the state at age 23, were factors that led him to believe he could not be spiritually saved unless he wiped out heresy. To prove his omnipotence he destroyed 570 of the Protestants' 815 churches. Huguenots who congregated secretly in the French woods were subject to\footnote{Denise Soulodre-LaFrance.}
savage reprisals and immediate death.

In 1685 between 400,000 and 500,000 remaining Huguenots flee France - they leave all manner of goods and real property behind, but of the ones headed to the North America-they do remember to stop by and pick up a few of the captives from the island of Hispaniola (now known as Haiti & Santo Domingo) on their way to New York and South Carolina.\textsuperscript{24} It is notable that there were several voices calling from the pulpit against the slave trade, but clearly the merchandising of human flesh and transformation of labor was intrinsic to the success of the Huguenot mercantile class in France as they became farmers in the New World. It is little wonder how and why they adapted the practice so enthusiastically to their life in the New World both in the US and as well in South Africa. The refugees resettle in Protestant countries around Europe, the Americas and parts of South Africa.

34 of those families arrived on the Sound Shore and purchased collectively 6000 acres of land from a former Dutch West India Company soldier cum broker.


\textit{Civic Goods: A Minority Report}
named Jacob Leisler. Leisler nascent developer, played both sides of the deal, helped secure financing and the settlement terms. He inflamed the passions of many by his dual agency-representing both the family of the English Lord John Pell-who claimed the land patent under the crown through eminent domain and divine right- and acting as an agent to the Huguenots with whom as a Calvinist he sympathized. The land once brokered became known as New Rochelle.

New York counted twelve original counties created by an act of the New York General Assembly in 1683 of which Westchester, which included Bronx, Yonkers, Eastchester and Pelham. The Pelhams, Eastchester and Mount Vernon were subsequently divided up over the years into increasingly smaller plots only large enough for subsistence farming. Jacob Leisler, a Calvinist by birth, the real estate broker to the Huguenots, later became the popular commander and acting Lt Governor against King James loyalists to the English province in support of a faction of artisan shop-keeps and subsistence farmer colonists who supported the protestant William and Mary during the rebellion leading to the English Revolution 1688-91. He was hung for treason when failed to relinquish his Fort to an emissary from England in the Spring of 1691.

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CHAPTER 3

Cloudy Title/ Guess who likely cooked The First Thanksgiving Dinner

“The Huguenots were not alone in the establishment of this new community. These communities were mixed ethnically from the first invasion of colonists. Many brought the enslaved with them as they traveled through the West Indies before coming to New York. Records from 1698 give a count of 231 inhabitants. 43 were “Negroes”, presumably enslaved Haitians. In a letter of December 1727, Rev. Stouppe gave an account of his new “flock” and their environs, writing that there were about 400 persons in town, including two Quaker families, three Dutch, four Lutherans, and nineteen Haitian Families. Even earlier, around 1700, Michael Jechiel de Hass (Hays) is believed to have been the first Jewish settler in America. Of Sephardic descent, he sailed from Holland to New York with his wife and children and began a farm in New Rochelle. A sixth son was born in 1732.

After Dutch rule (1609-64) capitulated to British rule (1664-1776), part of the terms included the reservation of some limited use of Dutch legal forms in Westchester County, especially with respect to inheritance law.

Imagine for a moment colonial street life: most people, men, women and children drank ale morning, noon and night as everyone except the natives feared drinking the water. Breweries were some of the first manufacturing houses established by the settlers. They did not understand the science but boiling the water made the ale safer to drink than water. This drinking of ale, spirit, and wines all day and all night must have led to a lot of indolent, hostile, downright


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licentious behavior; how much productivity would be expected from a whole town of drunken hoods?

Under English rule, the records show laws passed primarily to erect public workhouses, and arrest vagabonds, with more of an emphasis on concerns about control of the behavior of indentured servants, and identifying who could be served in taverns. More importantly, shortly after the handover, Dutch landowners were informed that they would now need to take an oath of allegiance to British authority. In order to maintain clear title the landowners would need to renew title by pledging fealty to the Duke of York. And while most of the Huguenots did take this oath, many did object to the obligations that served to fetter their new found independence.

The jockeying and tussling between the classes of landed colonists, loyalists, subsistence farmers, artisans and shop keepers would evolve into the steady drum beat that caused bitter struggle even within families. These continued until the overthrow of the crown entirely.

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In 1790, United States government figures showed that annual per-capita alcohol consumption for everybody over fifteen amounted to thirty-four gallons of beer and cider, five gallons of distilled spirits, and one gallon of wine. Rattle-Skull, Stonewall, Bogus, Blackstrap, Bombo, Mimbo, Whistle Belly, Syllabub, Sling, Toddy, and Flip Drinking in Colonial America by Ed Crews Civic Goods: A Minority Report
Even entering the Revolutionary period, New Rochelle found itself an extremely diverse community: the loyalists, the refugees, the enslaved, and the dispossessed. The successive invasions by the Europeans decimated the latter. As the coastal and woodland aboriginal people of Westchester numbers dwindled, their communities lost their footing, they receded to northern reaches of the county, and finally, succumbed to the forces aligned against their survival. It was the deal of the century for the Europeans—far more than what had been bargained for. Clearly, the lines had been drawn and the remaining players—the lords, the landholders and the captives—would continue their struggles. The French Huguenots who possessed themselves of title to the land and resplendent coastal areas through collective measure, were in position to not only exercise their religious freedom, but the freedom to exploit the intellectual and physical capital the indigenous people together with the slaves were forced to surrender. Colonists conducted unrestricted trade in woodland and coastal products—transporting farm goods on roads, trails, and trafficking product harvested from well cultivated oyster beds that were established by tribes of the now decimated Wappinger Confederacy utilizing enslaved labor aided by state sponsored forces who policed the status quo. The Huguenots were given a period of renewable tax holiday to boot as in many of their strongholds they
collectively supported their own church and schools. Gentleman farmers in Westchester County established their farms as the breadbasket to an ever growing population in New York City, served bed and breakfast -albeit unwillingly- to marauding English soldiers as well. If the indigenous nations enabled the colonists to survive the first years on the untamed coast, "Slave labor enabled the survival of the first European settlers in Dutch-governed New Amsterdam in the seventeenth century." 28

So it appears quite likely that those early harvest feasts may have really been prepared by the help provided by both the native inhabitants as well as the imported African captive labor force.

"In the eighteenth century, the British sought to heighten white New Yorkers' reliance on slave labor and the slave trade to make Manhattan the chief North American slave port and economic center. Under both the Dutch and the British, slaves performed vital agricultural tasks in the rural areas surrounding New York City...While the Dutch did not establish separate slave or black codes rooted in racial difference—slavery was not explicitly limited to Africans, and indeed, the colony contained Native American slaves." 29

Class distinctions between the landowners, the merchants, the farmers and shop keepers that lived in New Rochelle and Eastchester (what is now Mt Vernon) were evident in the pre-revolutionary era, but its important to re-iterate

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*Civic Goods: A Minority Report*
that Westchester was very different from other colonial New York areas from the outset politically, and the Huguenots were allowed more freedoms— not just religiously, but economically and socially as well, then they had in France. These communities in New Rochelle later become strategically important as they assisted the rebellion against the British by providing safe harbor to goods that were smuggled in past duty houses. Westchester County (which also included the Bronx until the second half of the nineteenth century) as a chartered borough was the only town in the colony with an elected mayor. Moreover, it was the first town without a property qualification for suffrage: settlers chose a representative to the provincial assembly and had their own municipal court. This in my mind is one of the essential elements for creating a machine that works for the immigrant group. According to the records of the time, that Huguenots were excused from paying taxes in New Rochelle; how convenient. A tax free holiday provided by the polity would not only only serve to give the settlers a leg up from the development perspective, but also encourage and entrench the practice of slave holding among the settlers—leveraging added value to the practice— which is what the British hoped. (The Britons envisioned NYC the slave capital of the world, and they wanted to make the trade in flesh hard for the Quakers to

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Huguenots assimilated into New York rapidly, marrying into English and Dutch families, purchasing land on the cheap, manipulating factors of production through chicanery or hostility, passing assets down to their successors without failure, and, importantly, holding local political office. This was clearly the invasion-assimilation path that would warranty success for their future generations.

"Huguenots came to colonial office early and often. In their three major places of settlement, Massachusetts, New York, and South Carolina-Huguenots rather quickly voted and held political office...Huguenots again ushered in a pattern

31 http://www.slaveryinnewyork.org/about_exhibit.htm

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common to the nineteenth-century immigrant experience in America. Standing for office, representing small interest groups in the public venue allowed the settlers to formalize their advantages; acculturate slowly, secure rights and privileges, police through force all rights and privilege, enact legislation that enhanced their ability to accumulate wealth; and through letters of testamentary distribute their wealth to the next generation- giving their children the ultimate leg-up, all the while maintaining a well shod foot on the neck of the enslaved, establishing an exclusionary policy to prevent blacks from access to skilled labor.

"In 1628, white workers requested that the Dutch West India Company not train slaves for skilled labor as it did in other American colonies. In appeasing white laborers by agreeing to exclude slaves from skilled occupations such as bricklayer and carpenter, the Dutch West India Company unwittingly encouraged settlers to use racial differences to determine who was suitable for certain occupations. By the 1650s, European settlers had begun to declare publicly that Africans were not as competent skilled laborers as Europeans."

Thomas Paine writing his critique "Common Sense" of the monarchy, rote religious extremism, and landed aristocracy, just knew he had a best seller. No reliable record have we found determines exactly how many copies were printed or sold, but suffice it to say that his tract was the must read of the Day- that is if you could read. It has been variously reported that passages from Paine's work were read aloud in pubs and in town squares. His pamphlet struck a chord

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34 Butler, Op Cit., page 200
35 Harris Op Cit., page 344
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across the colonies and was considered a catalyst inciting the working farmers and shop keepers to bear arms against the crown. Paine was so successful translating complex political thought into readily accessible ideas and plain language that he was later awarded a land grant to a homestead in New Rochelle where he briefly resided. The homestead remains intact today and serves as a venue for colonial revival festivals.

That the farmers and simple folk were drawn to serve in the armed conflict while the landholders generally were not, served to be a source of great consternation after the war was over. The farmers who had left their farms to fight the British came home to impoverished circumstance, and though Shay’s rebellion was a stark example, this dissatisfaction was a cause of unrest not just in New Rochelle. 36.

Thus Westchester County had players struggling on all sides of the conflict: The wealthy landowners and Loyalists, the working farmers, revolutionaries, semi-skilled workers and the enslaved to whom the British openly offered freedom and resettlement in exchange for service to the Crown. The French Huguenots maintained a separate identity and language for much of the first half of the 18th


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century, and after the revolution much official land and property documentation enters the record in English, but it is also true that French is still the language spoken at home and at worship, and French coastal practice is still evident where women and men inherit land in equal measure.

So, it is evident in looking at the historic record, that the system was really working for these white people: the newly arrived Americans by association formed schools, established trade, selected leaders that represented their interests and formed churches wherein they collectively took control of the public realm to shape public policies that suited them (think conveyance of those funky property titles, and tax relief), they fashioned their early institutions to provide for their material and spiritual needs, and used state sponsored violence to extract value from those who were enslaved. These refugees had more power, access to and control over resources, and self-determination than they ever could dream of possessing in France. Whereas the indigenous communities, - defeated by design, war, and the pox - and the forced migrants, through violent censure were still captives. Here the system worked to ensure that the intellectual capital, and labor of the survivors would continue to be used to provide physical and later political scaffolding and structural support to the settlers, townsmen, and subsequent immigrant groups. The harm is well evidenced, but what about the Civic Goods: A Minority Report
remedy? I am looking here in New Rochelle and later M Vernon for the chain, link upon link of the descendants who the system benefits and who it continues to harm. The argument for actionable harms and reparations in this case is then rather simply based on “the complicity of state, municipal, corporate, and individual actors in perpetuating violent acts of discrimination and repression against African Americans throughout the lifetime of this country.”

CHAPTER 4

Strange Fruit and The Beautiful Ones

Westchester became the site of General Washington’s pivotal battle in White Plains and both Eastchester (Mt. Vernon) and New Rochelle residents were instrumental in supplying information about British troop movements as well as providing goods to support the battle. The war took a heavy toll on New Rochelle as families struggled between sides during the conflict, and landholdings were divided up after. The working farmers, indentured servants, the enslaved and free blacks constituted the largest part of the population, and it would be these

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families descendants who would continue to habituate the towns and villages of southern Westchester, places now know as New Rochelle, Eastchester, Harrison, Scarsdale The Pelhams and Mount Vernon after the Revolution. New Rochelle colonials though less affluent had more enslaved people in town and in their households than other Huguenot settlements in upstate NY. It’s really important to emphasize that these refugees were living in La Rochelle, France as cities dwellers- hat makers, merchants, textile workers. Not knowing how to live off of the land was bound to be a big problem right away best solved by utilizing forced free labor and indigenous techniques to survive. Just the sheer amount of wood that would be required to be chopped in quantities sufficient to make it through the winters (firewood among the supplies that was fealty to the English under the Quartering Act) would require experienced labor.\textsuperscript{36} In 1771 51 of the 100 households in New Rochelle were identified as slave holders, nearly twice the percentage of the households in the more affluent Huguenot community of New Paltz.\textsuperscript{39} "New Rochelle had a higher percentage of slaves than all other towns in the colony outside of New York City. In the city itself Huguenots were more likely to own slaves than any other ethnic group (save the handful of wealthy Jewish merchants)....The blacks from New Rochelle- Haitians- were


\textsuperscript{39} Carlo, \textit{Op. Cit.} page 161

\textit{Civic Goods: A Minority Report}
notably prominent in the NYC slave uprising of 1712 and conspiracy of 1741. Their Haitian cousins are the only Africans that staged a successful revolution in the Western Hemisphere- gaining their Independence in 1804.

Due to New Rochelle’s smaller land holdings, the lower birthrate, and the emphasis that Huguenot families placed on education for their children, there were just not enough hands to do the hard labor required to clear the land. Westchester -even today the land is quite arable, but stony. In the 1700’s the land was full of old growth trees that had to be cut and there was no heavy equipment to remove those stumps. Farmers would have to plow around, as draft animals were in short supply. In addition, remember these Huguenots had been shop owners and merchants in La Rochelle, not farmers. Slave holding and the trade in human flesh was a common practice- and a make it or break it factor in the Americanization and assimilation of the Huguenot; the franchise presented an incredible advantage when combined with bargain basement pricing on acreage, a system however rudimentary of roads, and innumerable business incentives. Africans if free, could not inherit land, or pass ownership to their children, unlike the Dutch descendants where- Sacre Dieu- even women were.

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allowed to inherit property.\textsuperscript{41} The first national census of 1790 shows New Rochelle with 692 residents. 115 were African, including 26 who were freemen and the remainder enslaved.\textsuperscript{42}

For the devout Huguenot the enslaved community now represented a growing 20\% of the total population at the time, and a moral quandary. “Refugees in the New York settlement of New Rochelle, for example, brought slaves with such rapidity that as early as 1698 Africans comprised nearly 20\% of the towns otherwise all Huguenot population...\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{41} Wheeler Op Cit., page 135
\textsuperscript{42} http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1790g-02.pdf

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The historic record includes descriptions of the resistance that the enslaved mounted, whether in small measure to exact some control over their cultural and spiritual lives through food, music, and dance, or large scale coordinated efforts to mount rebellions. Resistance implies agency and identity, and therefore highlights the individual and group responses to slavery. In North America, the experiences of enslaved Africans and their descendants manifested resistance through flight, uprising, and murder.  

After slave rebellion and revolts in the colonies white Britons hurried to codify a system of rules for the enslaved community. Local officials along with ordinary citizens were empowered and encouraged to exact harsh punishment including public death by burning or hanging for infractions.

In 1665, a law confirmed that slavery was a legal institution. In 1677, a New York court stated that any person of color brought to trial was presumed to be a slave unless proven otherwise. In 1682, New York officials granted masters the power of life-and-death over their slaves. In 1684, a city ordinance prohibited more than four Africans and Native Americans from meeting together and Africans and Native Americans from possessing guns. In 1702, a curfew was imposed on enslaved men and women over the age of fourteen and New York's first comprehensive slave code was adopted, it equated slave status with being African. In 1706, a New York court ruled that conversion to Christianity did not change the legal status of enslaved Africans and a 1720 law required people of color to carry lanterns after dark.45

Especially interesting is the 1684 law prohibiting coalition between Indians and Blacks. Between 1700 and 1722, over 5,000 more enslaved Africans entered the colony. About two-thirds arrived directly from Africa and the other third from British colonies in the Caribbean and the South. To regularize the trade in slaves, New York City officials established a Wall Street slave market in 1711. 46

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   Civic Goods: A Minority Report
There were many Huguenots and Quakers for whom the practice of enslavement was intolerable. In New Rochelle, the Carpenter Family -Joseph and Margret W. Cornell were Quakers, farmers and card carrying abolitionists. They lived in New Rochelle on Weaver street- and took pride in sheltering fugitive slaves in their own safe house which was networked with a constellation of other like-minded individual’s homes in northern Westchester. These safe houses were owned by abolitionists who at great personal risk sought to assist in the movement of the enslaved out of bondage. At his death Joseph Carpenter ceded property to a designated cemetery for the interment of African-Americans on Stratton Road, where he was buried to demonstrate his protest against segregated burial grounds. Further study identifies this burial site to be an unmarked, but previously identified location on Stratton Road between the Armenian Seminary St Nersess property and the Iona Prep Athletic fields. Further field examination should be made to determine if any of these remaining graves are marked.

Elias Neau another French settler was a former Huguenot who became an Anglican and founded a school to teach basic literacy skills to the enslaved after working hours. “in 1737, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts extended Neau’s work and opened missionary schools for blacks in New Civic Goods: A Minority Report
Rochelle and Newburgh." Neau's did admirable work establishing educational facilities to teach the enslaved religious conformity, but it was never his mission to speak out against slavery or work to abolish the practice in New Rochelle. There is a long-standing and rich history of the Black church, and in much the same way the church served African Americans like the Dutch Reformed, Protestant, and Catholic Churches served as the cultural, religious and political hub of the European colonial community. What is notable is the significant way Black people figured prominently in Methodist and Quaker religions. “Between 1765 and 1796, the number of Black members in the Methodist faith increased greatly. With increasing numbers, a caste system developed which included forbidding Black members from taking the Sacrament until all White families were served. This, and the desire for other church privileges denied to them induced Black members to organize among themselves.”

Quakers have a long history of providing mutual aid to the African American communities as they often stood first against slavery - denouncing it as anti-Christian, and then collectively led the charge for abolition in their communities. Members of the Quaker meeting abide by strict values of respect, appreciation,  

47 Op Cit Darlington in Gannon et al. page 237
48 http://www.institutionalamez.org/ame-zion-history.html
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morality guided by conscience, and a belief that an attack on one group’s humanity is a threat to all humanity. They rallied against slavery, poverty, and prejudice in all forms. They championed the Underground Railroad, in the modern era supported the Civil Rights Movement, and defended conservationism and environmental protection.

Yet these recollections of the ‘good Quaker’ understate the facts of African-American agency. Blacks who took the lead in their escape from bondage, and in their defence of liberty, needed able assistance. The Quaker community together with the enslaved were tireless in pursuit of these basic human rights, and many prominent Quakers were sought out by these blacks, especially those who demonstrated support of African Americans’ relentless pursuit of liberty. Not a whole lot of blacks were invited to the Meeting House to worship— which may have been a bridge too far for these congregants— and/or a security issue; and this may be why there are so few black Quakers in number today.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AME) Church, was founded in 1796, in Harlem, NY. It is the oldest African American church in the state of New York and was established when black parishioners left John Street Methodist Church under the leadership of Minister James Varick whose congregants grew weary of
the segregation found in the white churches. Abolitionist and Sojourner Truth, born in Ulster County NY was a member of this congregation.49

The AME Zion Church in Harlem was completed construction in 1800. Among the leaders of the movement was James Varick, who was the first Bishop and considered the founding father of the Zion Church. The Zion church was incorporated in 1801 with the name "The African Methodist Episcopal Church in New York." Methodist Episcopal was always in the title to exhibit the retention of the doctrine and form of church government under which the denomination originated. The AME Church grew out of the Free African Society mutual aid association founded by Richard Allen, Absalom Jones and others established.


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in Philadelphia in 1787. 50 The movement for religious autonomy and freedom was hastened by the racism and discrimination encountered by black parishioners in the Methodist assemblies. Richard Allen successfully sued to maintain the independence of the AME affiliation and the right of his congregation to exist as a Methodist entity in the early 1800's. In New Rochelle the AME church is noted as being the, "largest colored church in West Chester county, with parsonage on same lot. 51 In Westchester, Amanda Foster, a free black woman and candy maker founded the Foster AME Zion Church in Tarrytown with her husband in 1860. 52 In the northern Westchester community of Bedford, the Antioch Baptist Church was formally founded in 1894 by several African-American families who worshipped together in their homes as early as 1887. 53 54 Bethesda Baptist Church of New Rochelle, founded in July 1888, is the oldest continuously attended African-American Baptist Church in southern Westchester. These early black churches not only served to buttress African-Americans from the harsh landscape of their internment and provide refuge, but became an enduring engine of social change, education, and political and legal activism in their respective neighborhoods. There was change in the country with

51 Old Tarrytown Negress Dead" The New York Times July 28, 1900
52 http://www.theantiochchurch.net/who.html Retrieved 3-18-15
54 Civic Goods: A Minority Report
emancipation came the passage of the Force Act. This progressive legislation had it endured would have made a great deal of difference in the African-American experience. Yet is the perception that “Native-born” Black American progress in near urban and suburban areas has stalled over the generations since internment for a large segment of the population false? Has there been a recalcitrant and an enduring poverty rather than a surge to the middle class and dispersion as has been experienced by the Dutch, French, English, Irish, and Italians? What about the various waves of immigrants of color; including the West-Indians, Hispanics, and South-East Asians? I contend that organized religion- even with limited political representation- has not fomented a system that really works for people of color. Without the concomitant cornered market on a specific industry or a trade for employment, in the absence of formal or informal access to ample credit, entry level land ownership (at below market rates and tax holidays), without formal educational and institutional support, communities of color have not yet experienced a rise and dispersion to the

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55 The Civil Rights Act of 1875 sometimes called Enforcement Act or Force Act, was a United States federal law enacted during the Reconstruction Era that guaranteed African Americans equal treatment in public accommodations, public transportation, and prohibited exclusion from jury service. The Supreme Court ruled in 1883 that the act was unconstitutional.
middle and upper classes, or a creation of sustainable wealth in equal measure to what has been experienced by the white population before them.\textsuperscript{56}


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This gap has persisted, and today, as evidenced in part by the table below which measures wealth in assets; (equity in real estate, stocks, bonds, mutual funds etc.) Black wealth is 60% lower than whites and noted by Wolf to be in negative dollars if the family car is not included. The family car. Based on data from Edward Wolf.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White Wealth</th>
<th>Black Wealth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>$102,200</td>
<td>$6,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>$121,400</td>
<td>$3,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>$140,000</td>
<td>$14,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>$161,400</td>
<td>$10,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>$110,500</td>
<td>$6,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>$116,800</td>
<td>$1,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the 18th century, the slave trade became a cornerstone of New York's commercial prosperity, a fevered trade in human flesh with an ever increasing demand.

*The Africans who were brought to New York from 1740 through the early 1770s were of different ethnic origins than earlier forced immigrants from Africa. In the 1740s and 1750s half of the slaves exported by the British from Africa came from either the Bight of Biafra or the Gold Coast areas. In the 1760s and 1770s, 46.4 percent of British-shipped slaves came from the Bight of Biafra while another 23.9 percent came from the Windward (Ivory) Coast. Akan peoples continued to come in from the Gold Coast, while Akwa, Mbato, Kissi, and Bobo peoples from the Windward (Ivory) Coast increasingly found their way to the New World. The bulk of slaves, however, were from the Bight of Biafra; they were Moko (a diverse group of cultures shipped from the lower Cross River), Ibo and Ijo (New Calabar), and Efik and Ibibio.* 58

The commerce in flesh, combined with the structural support and enforcement of the polity, discounted real estate ownership, access to finance, and free use of the intellectual property of the indigenous people in agricultural and aquacultural production, these are the factors that when each was leveraged against the other served to elevate the Huguenot settlement in New Rochelle, and propelled sustainable wealth of these first white families into the future. The enslaved workers labor underpinned the local agricultural and mercantile economy. Enslaved labor created a wealth and prosperity to the invaders much as it had for the French in the coastal areas of La Rochelle, and Nantes France where Huguenots had major slave markets prior to the massacres against them.

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In comparison to the British, the Dutch did maintain corporate loopholes that enslaved workers could -if the stars aligned- take advantage of: bringing suit against ownership for maltreatment, purchasing their freedom, marrying and passing along inheritances to their children. Most of these loopholes closed after the Dutch relinquished control of the colony to the Britons whose early vision was to make NYC a major center of slave trading.
In reviewing census data from the period 1790-1860 in the chart below it is difficult to feel comfort in drawing any conclusions about the accuracy of the information especially when one considers the impact of the “Half-Slave” designation. In this contrivance the slaver would be free of paying to maintain the worker; and the enslaved paid a modicum of money in taxes to the property owners for a hollowed out liberty; if the worker defaulted on the tribute, the status would revert. It is not clear how people with this status would be counted in the census. In Westchester that many of the slaveholders would likely have been French speaking brings even the collection methods into question.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Total Pop</th>
<th>Total Enslaved</th>
<th>Total White</th>
<th>Free Black</th>
<th>Total Non-White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>24,011</td>
<td>1,419</td>
<td>22,227</td>
<td>0 noted</td>
<td>1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>32,638</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>15,316</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>1843</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>48,386</td>
<td>0 noted</td>
<td>46,386</td>
<td>2300</td>
<td>0 noted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

60 US Census Tables
Civic Goods: A Minority Report
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>99,497</td>
<td>0 noted</td>
<td>97,227</td>
<td>2270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The names of those original Huguenot patentees are memorialized not only in the Trinity church records, and the City Annals in the local history section of the public library but also on a tablet on Main street. Some of their descendants are still on the rolls in the local public schools today.

"...Taking Huguenot names did not necessarily bespeak some special relationship of African Americans to Huguenots as a group...It customarily meant that these men and women took the names of men and women with whom their lives were inextricably bound, and with whom they had shaped communal as well as individual meaning, even if that meaning was strained, reluctant and difficult."
Fig 9 August 29, 1789 Issue of The New-York Packet... Note that the reward is offered by William Landrine for a man named Dick from Pelham historicpelham.blogspot.com/2005_07_01_archive.html

Among the remaining is the family name of Landrin(e), one of the families known to the author personally. There were always a few older and younger Landrines attending Stephenson Elementary school in the other grades in the 1970's and late 1980's. Donna Landrine, who we spoke with at the local Stop and Shop market the second Tuesday in February 2015 reported that her sister-
teacher’s aid with whom my elder brother attended grade school - Linda had passed in September. When I asked her to remind me how long her family lived in town she asked me if I remembered that the store had been built over the old “Potter’s Avenue” and that some of the kids would tease them about having distant cousins buried there. I let her know that I had heard about a “Potter’s Field” but never knew any of the details. She thought that her people lived in New Rochelle for over 7 generations. This oral history would be worthy of additional study. The written record requires closer inspection than we had time to accomplish. “Major” William Landrine, (1751-1825) born in New Rochelle son of the immigrant Guillame Landrine, (1666-1771) William was noted as holding 3 enslaved laborers in 1771.  

The Landrine’s name appears prominently and consistently in the historical Trinity church record, the census from its inception in 1790, and in association with the city until today. After the mid 1800’s it is difficult to identify any white Landrine descendants in the City, or any homeowners on the tax roles. The original French cum American immigrant invaders who lived in New Rochelle became educated and more affluent. They appear to have scattered to other areas in Westchester and beyond as they sold off their landholdings, and further established themselves in politics, business and industry up the economic ladder.

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61 Op Cit Carlo page 182
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Not so for their African cum American descendants who are a well known and large family in the City until today struggling with a legacy of having had unequal footing for so many generations. Here some press about Eric Landrine, whose father I attended school with...

“Most Infamous Drug Dealer in New Rochelle”

Eric Landrine, a known drug dealer, was wounded in a gunfight in the lobby of 361 Main Street in 2011... Just days earlier Landrine was beaten and stabbed with a screwdriver near Goffman’s Deli, located at 374 North Avenue, but refused to cooperate with police. In 2010, family members and neighbors of Eric Landrine marched on police headquarters claiming that police had used excessive force after Landrine fled when police tried to arrest him for allegedly possession crack cocaine. In 2005, Landrine’s father was brutally assaulted by a Latin King Gang Member in the stairwell at 361 Main Street. Landrine (Sr.) was found by police lying in a pool of blood at the bottom of a flight of stairs. http://www.newrochelletalk.com/content/dozens-arrested-early-morning-drug-dealer-raids-new-rochelle-police as captured March 31 2014.

Many Landrines have lived in public housing on the southern part of Main Street, also known as “The Hollow” or on Lincoln Avenue for over 3 generations or longer, but are rarely if ever noted as being related to or celebrated along with any of the “founding” families.

I will not here presume to make a broad generalization on the basis of one family, however this case is emblematic of what I believe is the legacy of separate and unequal access to the advantages that civil participation, access to finance,

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62 Judy Stephenson, New Rochelle Library Clerk recounted that the “Hollow” was the public housing project constructed when I-95 was expanded and the old African-American neighborhoods were razed. Civic Goods: A Minority Report
asset accumulation, land ownership, control over a commercial market, and real estate ownership provides in successive generations. I believe these families to be part of an actionable class with respect to reparations. Those gains in employment, education, credit, housing and affluence are still barriers to many families like the Landrines, the Bartows, the Stuckeys, the Stephensons, the Manigault’s and the Riches. The seeming intransigent nature of this then historic poverty and exclusion, state sponsored violence is absolutely nothing new, and seems to demand further study which should be conducted to trace the African-American descendants of those original enslaved Westchester cohort in order to determine if the case of the Landrine’s is typical or anecdotal.

In the absence of this work we put a pin in this anecdotal aspect of the Landrine family and will continue with an expedited review of the issues with respect to the consolidation of Westchester Towns and Villages, to see how citizen groups organized themselves around industry in Mt Vernon and New Rochelle the period just before and after the Civil War and what impact immigrants, and class difference has had on labor, representative government and civil institutions in New Rochelle and Mount Vernon NY since then.
New Rochelle’s industrialization and urbanization began in earnest in the 1800’s. A four-story flour mill, said to be the country’s largest at the time, was constructed in 1801; and was owned by the Mott family. The Mott’s later became better known for their Quaker daughter-in-law Lucretia Coffin-Mott, who lived in the City on her husband’s family estate overlooking Echo Bay after the birth of her first son, and who subsequently founded the anti-slavery movement.  

New Rochelle’s urbanization accelerated following the 1848 completion of the New York and New Haven Railroad, which, today known as Metro-North’s New Haven line, still connects New Rochelle with both Mount Vernon and New York City and is a vital commuter link. By 1857, the population of the Town of New Rochelle approached 3,000. The rail changed everything, as large banks and

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63 Barbara Davis, City Historian at New Rochelle Public Library

64 Judy Stephenson, African-American resident of New Rochelle and New Rochelle Public Library clerk informal interview conducted by Author November 2014. Is a current resident of the public housing aka “The Hollow” reports that her ancestor John Stephenson built trolleys in New Rochelle and amassed a considerable fortune. She was told by her mother that the property was taken from him and is currently the site of Salesian High School. This demands further study. Cursory review of the record does confirm that Stephenson - an Irish Quaker- immigrated to New Rochelle as a 2 year old in the late 1840’s, and was the owner of a trolley manufacturing concern. Ms. Stephenson is also reports being related through kinship to the Landrine family. Stephenson was the name of an elementary school in the City that Ms. Stephenson reports the land belonged to her ancestor and was given as a gift to the City with a Deed restriction.

*Civic Goods: A Minority Report*
industrialists began to build luxury housing for their executives. The City chartered its first Public Library in 1893.

Similarly, Eastchester one of colonial New York’s earliest townships (1664) was fairly rural until the the Village of Mt. Vernon was incorporated by a railroad scion John Stevens in 1850. Stevens sited the new settlement 30 minutes from NYC at the juncture between the New York-New Haven and New York Central Railroad Lines. Stevens formed the Industrial Home Association no. 1 composed of shopkeepers, tradesmen and workers who wanted out of the machine politics in NYC; they felt they could do better given the prospect of building their own homes and finding work associated with the quarries, water and transportation projects. He basically planned the whole city and the members of the association drew straws to divide up the land. Mt Vernon Charter's its library in 1895.

The increasing requirement for clean drinking water to serve an ever increasing NYC demand became a critical need as the urbanization & disease outstripped local drinking water supplies, and as population pressure increasingly polluted the few plentiful sources of rivers. In 1837 the Croton Aqueduct was constructed to bring thousands of gallons of fresh water into NYC from upstate NY.
massive infrastructure project, the reservoir was a complex gravity fed system of canals waterways and the dam that travelled a total of 41 miles. This massive public works project utilized technologies and skill sets that would be significant a generation later in the very whites only union trades that would not only hire thousands more to build the subways and high rises iconic to New York City, but also be found in the emerging urban centers up and down the eastern seaboard. This “lock-out” to blacks in the construction of the Croton Dam and the NYC Aqueduct system between 1837 and 1842 effectively provided thousands of poorly educated immigrants and the generations after them a monopoly on years of work. To be sure, “regardless of early labor regulations like the NYS 8-hour law of 1897, employers avoided granting basic rights to their workers whenever possible, often forcing immigrant laborers to accept the poorest living and working conditions. In isolated places like mining operations, company towns, or remote worksites like that of the New Croton Dam, laborers sometimes used work stoppages as their only way to improve their situation...”

Today the now unionized infrastructure building trades and “sand hogs” in NYC comprise a protected class in an industry that requires only a high school equivalency diploma, affords a middle class standard of living, and in spite of an attempt to integrate the trades has- because of legacy membership- been effectively

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65 Hudson River Valley Labor History Project, October 2013 http://hrvlaborhistory.org/2013/10/ Retrieved 3-18

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closed to similarly educated blacks and other minority groups for well over 150 years.

In Westchester, as population doubled every decade, changes over the 1800's included the diminishing marginal returns on agricultural land and the decreasing importance of farms in southern Westchester. Pressure from the expensive and overcrowded boroughs in NYC pushed poor largely illiterate Irish immigrants from the cities into the fringes of what was now an emerging suburb. The Roman Catholic Church organized housing for their congregants and arranged for not only their spiritual, but also material needs. Many churches built residence halls to house the great number of Irish women
workers and protect their morals. Until about 1845, the Roman Catholic population of the United States was a small minority of mostly English Catholics, who were often quite socially accomplished. The Famines in Ireland bring huge numbers of the desperately poor and illiterate Roman Catholics. The oldest Roman Catholic Church in New York City, St. Patrick's cathedral, played vital social and political role in the lives of young immigrants, helping them adapt to their new home. These immigrants were competing directly with African-Americans for wage work. As the economy changed, wages fell for paid work; slaveholders established a scheme to take advantage of the Irish wage workers and lower their overhead costs by declaring some enslaved workers “half-free”. This early “Just in time” operations management convention would allow the enslaved worker to fend for themselves with regard to food and housing up until their labor was needed for a specific task; or pay a tax (on one’s self) to the former owners if the worker had no duties in the year. Maintaining enslaved workers “overhead” became costly relative to the falling cost of labor once the influx of hungry immigrants happened on the emerging industrial scene. The slave holders felt that “Half Free” model cured a multitude of sins from the

66 In the St. Cecilia’s Catholic Church The Sisters of Mercy built and staffed a residence hall and school in East Harlem between Park & Lexington Avenues on E 106th St to house “indigent Irish women”, provide literacy and training in domestic services according to Fr. Joseph Parkes S.J.
67 http://www.tenement.org/encyclopedia/irish_catholic.htm as captured 3-18

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start. Many African Americans listed agricultural skills on the census in 1850, or no trade at all and perhaps 40% were illiterate as compared to the Irish immigrants who had illiteracy rates even higher than African Americans. Most of the immigrants from certain county areas in Ireland did not speak the King’s English.

Fig 11 The Two Platforms in a series of racist posters attacking Radical Republican exponents of black suffrage, issued 1866
Chapter 7 "Gunshot A Fire/ Buffalo Soldier"  

As the country neared brinkmanship with civil unrest and struggles between capital and labor from north and south, all the enslaved were freed with the passage of the law of 1817. By 1850 the African American population of Westchester had grown to 2000 persons, representing about 2% of the total population according to the federal census of that year.

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68 Assassin AKA Agent Sasco River Stone Bus Dem Head lyrics Boardhouse Records 2012  
69 1817 Gradual Manumission in New York State  
"An Act relative to slaves and servants," March 31, 1817, in Laws of the State of New-York Passed at the Fortieth Session of the Legislature, Begun and Held at the City of Albany, the Fifth Day of November, 1816 (Albany, 1817), 136-14  

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While there were residents on either side of the issues with respect to the war there was no question in Westchester's African-American community and to the black soldiers that had to enlist in neighboring states in order to serve. At the outset of the Civil War, even free blacks in Westchester County were barred from military service because of a federal law dating from 1792. The whole premise of law and order, control and code enforcement would become topsy turvey if blacks were armed and trained. (blacks had, however, served in both the American Revolution and the War of 1812). Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Connecticut were the first states to form "colored" regiments; New York did not form a colored regiment until 1864.\(^71\)

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\(^{71}\) Retrieved 3-26-15 http://www.westchesterarchives.com/CW/default.htm
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“Black men from the towns and villages, (in Westchester)… served in four regiments and the Navy (including the "Glory" regiment the renowned 54th Massachusetts). When New York's anti-Lincoln governor Horatio Seymour refused to raise a black regiment, thirty-one black men… traveled out of state to enlist, i.e., to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut… Disappointed by Seymour's hostility, the Union League of New York City organized the 20th Regiment, Infantry, USCT."  

72 Edythe Ann Quinn, Blog Post http://newyorkhistoryblog.org/2013/03/11/westchester_civil_war/#comment-22336
Civic Goods: A Minority Report
CHAPTER 8 The Gang is All Here: Exclusion, White Violence and State Sponsored Terror

"The enactment of the Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863 capped two years of increasing support for emancipation in New York City. Although Republicans attempted to keep abolitionists from taking a leading role in New York's antislavery politics during the early years of the war, by 1862 abolitionist speakers drew huge audiences, black and white, in the city. Increasing support for the abolitionists and for emancipation led to anxiety among New York's white proslavery supporters of the Democratic Party, particularly the Irish. From the time of Lincoln's election in 1860, the Democratic Party had warned New York's Irish and German residents to prepare for the emancipation of slaves and the resultant labor competition when southern blacks would supposedly flee north. To these New Yorkers, the Emancipation Proclamation was confirmation of their worst fears."

In the 1800's as Westchester County merchants and farmers served to supply Union army with agricultural goods and products, villages and towns grew to accommodate the supply chain for the Civil War and the County became a place whose cheaper rents drew workers and their families out of New York City.

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hoping to build communities that were independent of the tyranny of wealthy landlords.

The introduction of the railroad brought markets not only for Westchester’s breadbasket goods but a young white labor force willing and able to build their own homes along the rail routes free from the harness of City machine politics and patronage. The ability to work through the polity to secure financing in order to mount the capital for such an undertaking is remarkable for what was largely an illiterate immigrant workforce. Clearly, the system worked for this group. “A foretaste of what the railroads would bring to Westchester had come with the emergence of a new community—Mount Vernon.

A number of these families organized and formed in 1851 the New York Industrial Home Association No.1-an early work live model...” within six months the association had signed up 1,000 members, built a railroad depot, and counted Horace Greeley as a supporter. Greeley founded The New York Tribune in 1841. The paper was a daily dedicated to a medley of reforms, economic progress, and the elevation of the masses. West Mt. Vernon grew as another ethnic community Association formed with over 500 members called “The Teutonic Homestead” 74

74 Neil S. Martin, Westchester as an Evolving Suburb in Marilyn E. Weigold ed., Westchester County The Past Hundred Years (Valhalla: Westchester County Historical Society, 1083) p 90

Civic Goods: A Minority Report
Fig 12 The Ignorant Vote; Honors are Easy http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2005678066/
“Wartime inflation hit the immigrant and working class communities hard and began to cause tensions over fears that total emancipation would result in less (sic) jobs for them. The largely Irish immigrant community felt their jobs and wages were at risk... since African Americans were not conscripted. This panic only furthered the already growing tensions between the two communities... the Conscription Act had a clause that allowed wealthy men to pay their way out of being drafted for $300. It was supposed to be aimed at giving men a 'fair chance' to buy out of the draft, but resulted in further heightening tensions between the immigrant and working class communities and the wealthy.”

Just around the same time that the robber barons were lacing the countryside with iron rail, factories and manufacturing interests dotted the landscape as the new immigrants from Europe pushed native born blacks out of line for the jobs that came on the rail, and on the factory floor. New Rochelle had the largest number of African Americans in Westchester County and most were excluded from the enormous wave of work that was otherwise headed directly to workers in their communities. A school for ‘colored students’ was opened in New Rochelle in June of 1858. The record reports that the school was closed in 1866 due to low
attendance and reopened in 1870. In 1885 the colored school in New Rochelle was closed and the city's black children distributed among the other schools in the village.\textsuperscript{75}
The Two Platforms: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2008661700/

As the machine politics ground out life saving graft and patronage for the new Irish Americans in NYC, Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall greedily eyed the landscape in Westchester County and geared up to mobilize the Democratic Party to secure the votes of the recent immigrant wave of population outside of the City. The recent arrivals to New York City from Europe were jostling for jobs, living space and were seen on the national level as fodder for the war between the states that had enveloped the Nation. Hence, early Westchester partisan voters (after the establishment of the two-party system in 1828), were extremely devoted to the pro-slavery Democratic Party. In the critical election of 1896 the southern and western states in a vain attempt to unshackle capital in the strongboxes of the northern bankers and robber barons, hatched the populist demand to coin silver at a ratio of 16:1 and backed the Republican candidate William McKinley. In mid-Atlantic states and the northeast, campaign officials tried to keep the message simple with “Two Platforms: Democratic Party Platform for the White Man, Republican Party for the Negro” Even staunch Democrats in NY threw up their hands at William Jennings Bryan’s populist movement to devalue the currency by flooding the market with silver. Banking and commerce interests at the heart of the NYC engine trumped party loyalty for machine
bosses, but it was a different story altogether for the white working classes. Republicans in Westchester County simply copied Boss Tweed's playbook. Early Irish immigration before 1800 was largely Protestant "Lace Curtain" communities, involved in trade. After 1840- as Irish Catholic peasants invaded formerly Italian neighborhoods, the well-educated Irish moved out, seeking better opportunities and distancing themselves by identifying as "Scotch-Irish" to avoid being confused for "Shantie" Irish. Over 50% of the immigrant population was female, which spurred a great deal of concern about the morals of a number of women who may have ended up at work in the sex trades or, worse, consorting with blacks, "In the decades after the Famine, more Irish women than men emigrated to the United States, ....the Irish were the only significant group of foreign-born in which women outnumbered men and in which women emigrated primarily in groups".

While Irish were denigrated because of their illiteracy, cultural traditions and religion, they were not actually considered black. Even though the Irish immigrants were often lumped in together with blacks in neighborhoods and in competition for jobs, they were still enfranchised with the vote and represented by the Machine in Tammany Hall. If they were unable to buy their way out of

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military service as upper class families could, then they were summarily forced to the Draft by The Lincoln Administration’s Enrollment Act of 1863. 77

On July 13 1863 a riot exploded at the draft office in lower Manhattan as the names of those first citizens were pulled. Those who were named would be required to answer the call to arms, no matter if they were just off of the boat. One local Westchester newspaper reporting on the events identified that the fires were begun largely by squatters, presumable immigrant Irish, who reasoned that if the draft hall was burned down they would have no way of enforcing the draft as the records would be lost. 78

By the 1860 election rural northern Westchester County was aligned with Lincoln Republicans, and the southern most populous part of the County, with high population of blacks who could not vote, and immigrants who could allied itself politically with New York City Democratic Machine in its opposition to Lincoln.

77 http://www.westchesterarchives.com/CW/Westchester/westFrame.htm

78 History of Westchester County: New York, Including Morrisania ..., Volume 1 edited by John Thomas Scharf page 499

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Eyewitness reports at the time describe what spilled over and became a conflagration of violence aimed at African-Americans and the wealthy—both groups. Each were seen by the Irish as being able to avoid conscription, so were therefore targets of the rage. Yet it was the strivers among African Americans in NYC who were terrorized, burned, looted, and lynched in numbers. The Colored Orphan Asylum that housed over 200 children—some of whose fathers had been sent to defend the Union—was set afire; the institution presumably symbolized white charity and upward mobility; over 200 Black longshoremen with whom the Civic Goods: A Minority Report
Irish competed for employment were attacked. "An Irish mob then attacked two hundred blacks who were working on the docks, while other rioters went into the streets in search of 'all the negro porters, cartmen and laborers . . . they could find.' The police attempted to take control, but a few in uniform were killed by the angry mobs. Fire Fighters sympathized with the mob and stood by as black striver neighborhoods were razed. In July 1863, white longshoremen took advantage of the chaos of the Draft Riots to attempt to remove all evidence of a black and interracial social life from area near the docks. White dockworkers attacked and destroyed brothels, dance halls, boarding houses, and tenements that catered to blacks." The insurrection unleashed a ferocious attack on black labor attempting to eliminate their freedom and right to work, and eradicating hard fought material gains African-Americans had made as free persons of color, skilled workers, and tradesmen and women.

The NYC Draft Riots which occurred between July 13-16 1863, were the largest civil insurrection in American history outside of the Civil War itself. The violence continued in NYC for four days before the draft was suspended in NYC and national troops were sent to restore order. In Westchester, news of the violence

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79 This pattern of fire fighters allowing black striver neighborhoods to burn down would sadly be repeated in nearly every generation in diverse communities across the nation. See film The Bombing of Osage Avenue (1986) Louis Massiah, Director Permanent Link: http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/10171/dvdo/1731372


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and “reign of terror” spurred local mobs to incite violence in the Bronx, where crowds destroyed the draft offices, tore up enrollment lists and removed railroad tracks (which actually was the wealthy class means of mobility). Westchester politicians—supervisors tried to organize an end run around the Draft by offering incentives to induce volunteers. Supervisors made an agreement with the local authorities to beef up security to avoid civil unrest. Regardless, on the second day of the riots crowds gathered on picket lines up as far north as Mt Vernon. The angry mobs wanted to destroy the railroad, which was identified as a symbol of wealth and upper class industry. The Bronx crowds were quieted because of the unique position leadership had outside of the city proper and their ability to provide direct patronage to people in the small towns and cities in Westchester. County assembly members quickly passed a vote to raise funds to pay for the draft exclusion for residents of Westchester towns which mollified the mob.
CHAPTER 9 ABOLITION Quaker NIMBY Movement
Fig 16 Church program from Anti-Slavery speech Jan 13 1861 New Rochelle
Public Library collection

The Methodist movement took root in the village of Mount Vernon in 1852. The
First Methodist Episcopal Church was established as the first organized
congregation in the city limits of the village of Mount Vernon. It was located on
what is now the corner of Second Street and Eighth Avenue. The building was
dedicated on February 8, 1854. "On Sunday, January 13, 1861, Rev. William H.
Book (sic), the staunch abolitionist pastor of the First Methodist Church,
preached 'Antidote to Rev. H.J. Van Dykes's Pro-Slavery Discourse - American
Slavery has no foundation in the Scriptures.' He argued that the Bible did not
approve slavery. It was a public and courageous sermon. Book (sic) proved his
strength of his faith by resigning and becoming the Union Army chaplain." 81

The abolitionist movement in Westchester was well ensconced in the religious
organizations, and with a large African American population in Mt Vernon and
New Rochelle as well as well established Quaker and Methodist communities
there was an active contingent of proponents of black suffrage in the area. From
1856 until the War, Susan Brownell Anthony, a former teacher at a Quaker girls
school in New Rochelle, was also the main New York agent for the American

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81 http://www.westchesterarchives.com/CW/Westchester/westFrame.htm
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Anti-Slavery Society, and colleague of Lucretia Mott whose husband's family owned the Red Mill on Petersville Road in New Rochelle one of the largest flour Mills in the country at that time.

CHAPTER 10 KKK Brand Identity & Policing the Status Quo

During the Civil War, legions of Irish and Italian immigrants left the crowded cities and moved north to Westchester finding work on the rail and in the quarries of Civic Goods: A Minority Report
Roxanne Neilson

Tuckahoe, mining marble on the massive public works project of the Croton Dam. On the eve of the second night of riots in NYC, these workers were stirred by the news of the day to join in a march on Mount Vernon where they hoped to burn down the homes and businesses of the Republicans. The Republicans who as the Party of Lincoln were credited with the war, recession and unfathomable inclusion of blacks in integrated realms of employment, education, and housing opportunities. Most marched and dispersed without pillaging their neighborhoods, because well, they were nice neighborhoods and they had built them in association with their own neighborhood organizations and by their own hands.

Black families now native born several generations, endured economic discrimination, a restricted supply of housing and employment opportunities, very little access to credit outside of funerary organizations, and physical insecurity due to sporadic terrorist violence. Even though the numbers of free blacks increased steadily in NY during the period after the Civil War, there were limits to their ability to freely form associations, schools, establish trade organizations, select leaders that represented their interests.

Black churches were seen as non threatening institutions to the social order. The black church proves to be an enduring institution in the African-American Civic Goods: A Minority Report
community, and creates a space where not only spiritual salvation was mediated but civil organization and legal counsel. After the Civil War did blacks have demonstrably more power, freedom from violence, increased access to and control over resources, markets and credit, infrastructure improvements and more self-determination than they ever could dream of possessing when they migrated from the South? The answer is yes, but every improvement in the condition of black life was complicated, governed, mitigated and nullified by the ever-present threat of arbitrary as well as state sanctioned violence.

Fig 18 Ida B. Wells Pamphlet Southern Horrors 1892 NY
African Americans in Westchester were still employed as resident workers in white households, a condition not wholly unlike prior to emancipation. Full freedom—including economic self-sufficiency, asset accumulation, and familial integrity, --was initially as hard to achieve as had been freedom itself. White terrorism and racial violence and lynching characterized the era, and has had an enduring influence forming the basis of the status of the African-American in the collective conscious of the nation as a whole even until today. “white racial terrorism was a political act that intimated an entire community by visiting horrific and unimaginable cruelty on the black body politic through acts of violence on the bodies of black individuals: 82Lynching precipitated the mass exodus of blacks from the southern states between the Civil War and World War II. Ida B. Wells-Barnett was among the first to widely publicize through her transformative investigative journalistic efforts that the motivation for this white terror was to systematically eliminate blacks from competition for jobs and economic advancement, “From this exposition of the race issue in lynch law, the whole matter is explained by the well-known opposition growing out of slavery to the progress of the race. This is crystallized in the oft-repeated slogan: ‘This is a white man’s country and the white man must rule.’ The South resented giving the Afro-American his freedom, the ballot box and the Civil Rights Law. The raids of

82 Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror REPORT SUMMARY Equal Justice Initiative (2015)
Civic Goods: A Minority Report
the Ku-Klux Klan and White Liners to subvert reconstruction government, the massacres... were excused as the natural resentment of intelligence against government by ignorance."  

"Between the Civil War and World War II, thousands of African Americans were lynched in the United States. Lynchings were violent and public acts of torture that traumatized black people throughout the country and were largely tolerated by state and federal officials." These Lynchings were terrorism. "Terror Lynchings" peaked between 1880 and 1940 and claimed the lives of African American men, women, and children who were forced to endure the fear, humiliation, and barbarity of this widespread phenomenon. Lynching profoundly impacted race relations in America and shaped the geographic, political, social, and economic conditions of African Americans in ways that are still evident today.... Lynching reinforced a legacy of racial inequality that has never been adequately addressed in America. The administration of criminal justice especially is tangled with the history of lynching in profound ways that continue to contaminate the integrity and fairness of the justice system."

In southern Westchester, New Rochelle and Mt Vernon African-American residents rightly viewed the mob violence, lynching and melee experienced in the Draft Riots as an extension of the everyday brutal terrorism in the both the northern and southern states, and some see a linear progression of state sponsored terrorism to police brutality as an enduring feature of American democracy.

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84 Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror REPORT SUMMARY Equal Justice Initiative (2015) page 3

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In the third proceeding of the NY Legislature of 1922 a motion was discussed that identified the Klu Klux Klan as an Organization of concern "advocating doctrines tending to stir up class consciousness and inciting contempt for the duly established processes of law" and that the organization was under investigation by the United States Attorney General’s office. The motion was to support the AG and to assist in the investigation where possible. It was dismissed by Westchester County legislator Gladstone "I agree with that other gentleman that we can lay off. We have other more important matters for our attention than this Klu Klux Klan at this moment."85

In truth, the year 1892 saw the highest number-230 of documented lynchings; the year 2013 saw 461 police killings. "At its core, to be lynched is not a method of killing, but it is to be murdered without due process."86

"The black population in New York lived in four types of residential arrangements during the long transition from slavery to freedom, 1785 to 1827. Blacks lived in either white households which contained only slaves, white households which

85 New York (State). Legislature [Reischmann, George M.] 1923


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contained both slaves and free blacks, white households which contained only free blacks, or free black-headed households...after slavery ended in 1827 free black adults lived in either their own households or in the homes of white employers. Black children who had been born between 1799 and 1827 and who still owed service between 1827 and 1848 lived in white households either alone, with other bound children, or with free black employees on the premises."

Though not precisely congruent, it is not exactly difficult to draw corresponding lines between the invasion immersion/extinction/dispersion paths taken irrespective of language and religious denomination from the Dutch to the French Huguenot to the British, Eastern European, to the Irish and Italian immigrant experience. Each was characterized by a system that worked for them. Each group was able to corner a market on a specific industry or trade, secure formal or informal access to ample credit, entry level land ownership (at below market rates), and civic, educational and spiritual support through their places of worship and later though the body politic.

“Tammany Hall — shorthand for the faction that controlled Manhattan’s Democratic Party for most of a 150-year period — has a well-deserved place in

87 BORN TO RUN: the slave family in early new york, 1626 to 1827 Dr. Vivienne L. Kruger. Ma. M. Phil., Ph.D.C 1985 As retrieved 3-18-15

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the annals of urban misgovernment in the United States. It stole elections, it intimidated political antagonists, and it shook down contractors and vendors. It produced the very face of political corruption, William M. Tweed, known to friend and foe as “Boss.” And it was at best indifferent to the grievances of African-Americans and, later, Hispanics in New York. 

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88 TERRY GOLWAY JAN. 17, 2014
Opinion Ed New York Times

Civic Goods: A Minority Report
Yet, Boss Tweed provided an invaluable leg up for the Irish immigrant—**for 150 years.** That the patronage system under Tammany Hall in NYC provided a functioning and enduring system of government that exploited the needs of the newly immigrant Irish community, providing back breaking jobs, in return for their votes, there is no doubt. Few other mechanisms outside of the church were in place to assist this community, and the Tammany ward bosses were able to keep their constituents well in hand by providing exclusive access to the vast public works system over which Boss Tweed held sway. "The Ring made most of its money from overcharging on construction work...to facilitate this process, Tweed, Civic Goods: A Minority Report"
who was a state senator, persuaded the New York legislature to pass in 1869 an act creating a new four-man Commission of Public Works for the City. The members of the Commission happened to be Tweed, Sweeny, Connolly, and Hall. With his new regime, the potential for graft grew exponentially.

Did the system work for the Irish? In fact it did- and it involved all levels of government just in time to give the Irish and German immigrants a leg up in their new home. Legions of Irish immigrants were fraudulently made naturalized Americans by corrupt Ward bosses in order to sway votes even before they got off the boat.

What of the destitute, aged and diseased amongst them? In fact Tweed was much despised by political cartoonist Thomas Nast, a Protestant Republican, who objected to the mechanism that the Ring developed for funneling public funds into the Catholic charities coffers- which was in turn used by the Church to provide all manner of housing and support for the Irish immigrant community.

Irish immersion in NYC and dispersion did not follow the pattern that earlier groups had. Notwithstanding, the goal of becoming Americans- with title to land, good jobs, and educated children did seem accessible and likely to those who for

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Nast's Crusading Legal Cartoons

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150 years were the beneficiaries of and wrangled by the patronage machine. Leaving the impoverished circumstances that they fled in Ireland to settling in NYC was not exactly a seamless transition, and the Irish Catholics didn't smoothly move from the invasion - to the succession model as naturally as did the Huguenots who were Protestants. So the system of graft and patronage that became known as Tammany Hall served to fill the civic void for the immigrants from eastern Europe and the Irish. In exchange for the votes of the political "wards" the leaders would provide services to the crowded community. These party boss' would often have risen themselves from the ranks of the poor and destitute, so they knew where their constituents lived, and what their needs were. In addition, Tammany's control over the system even extended to the judicial system, The ring was a complete system and not a crumb was left undesignated.

Even more feared than costly referrals were the abuse of judges' equitable powers of injunction and receivership.

"To maintain its dominance, the Ring handed out municipal jobs and favors in exchange for votes, especially the votes of new Irish immigrants. Naturalizing these immigrants quickly and covering up the Ring's frauds required control of the courts. Judicial elections kept enough city judges dependent on the Ring for their all-important Democratic re- nominations.

Civic Goods: A Minority Report
...It is rumored that Judge McCunn has issued an order naturalizing all the lower counties of Ireland, beginning at Tipperary and running down to Cork."

New York City’s population boomed after the 1825 completion of the Erie Canal, while Westchester’s gentleman farmers continued to provide the breadbasket of goods that the City dwellers demanded. Iron foundries were located throughout the county, and Westchester’s numerous brickyards and marble quarries provided the materials for the thousands of row houses and monumental new institutional buildings spreading across Manhattan.

That the Irish immigrants in New York City had to fight native born blacks to defend their advantage as whites; live together with African-Americans in substandard housing and wrestle over job prospects with the blacks was enraging. Ideas about law and order reflected the prevailing business interests as early police forces were paid by private citizens. The first police force in NY was authorized by the City in 1845. In most cities the authority for policing was decentralized to local neighborhood control-which devolved to the well known political wards. The gnashing of teeth and tearing of hair amongst and between

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91 Civic Goods: A Minority Report
new and newer immigrants, blacks, Establishment actors assured residents of
the crowded back allies a nearly constant discord. By the mid 19th century laws
were passed to create asylums, prisons, and police forces to exact social control.
In many cases the police were known by and recruited from neighborhoods that
they lived in. The privatization of police forces blatantly enforcing industry
executives will served to coerce and stifle nascent efforts to organize labor.\textsuperscript{92}

As Catholics, the illiterate peasant Irish were outside of the White Anglo Saxon
Protestant norm. They were depicted in cartoons of the day as simians, less than
human, and drunkards. The ad hominem attacks and propaganda in the press
served to justify the squalor they were forced to live in. What about the ethnic
neighborhood associations in Westchester, particularly in the new commuter
suburbs of Mount Vernon and New Rochelle was not to like?

As democrat Tammany Hall politicians sought to extend the growth of “Greater
New York” through consolidation they were aligned with Republicans who also
saw power and wealth in annexation of outlying areas by expanding NYC
beyond 42\textsuperscript{nd} street. To the immigrants who filtered up to Westchester, that
system had delivered them to a new station in life, and that machine was now
precisely what they were trying to run up from out under.\textsuperscript{93}

\textsuperscript{93} “Anti-Annexation Talk, The Yonkers Statesman, Thursday May 18, 1911 page 4
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Andrew H. Green was to the late 1800's in NYC what Robert Moses was a 100 years later. Green, having built Central Park Green became “one the of the great municipal planners in history” when he proposed the radical notion that NYC be extended beyond the island of Manhattan. The campaign of 1894 saw these issues on ballot measures, voters when asked affirmed resoundingly the desire to consolidate in all but a few areas, Mount Vernon voted the measure down and rejected consolidation”

“Together, in 1851, a group of skilled tradesmen affiliated with “Mechanics Mutual Protection No. 11” in New York City purchased five farms totaling 369 acres, and subdivided them according to a grid plan. The leader of the group, John Stevens, saw the endeavor as a means of improving the condition of New York’s working class by freeing it from rent payments and enabling it to enter the class of property owners. Mount Vernon was incorporated as a village in 1852, and rapidly grew to become a city 40 years later.”

Membership to the newly established suburb of Mt. Vernon was solicited of “one thousand of those of good moral character, industrious habits and, with a desire to promote the common purpose — protection against the unjust power and influence to capital, and against land monopoly as the efficient cause to poverty. Each member was required to pay into the Treasury or General Fund not less than twenty-five, nor more

94 Neil S. Martin, Westchester as an Evolving Suburb in Marilyn E. Weigold ed., Westchester County The Past Hundred Years (Valhalla: Westchester County Historical Society, 1983) p 108

than seventy-five dollars within one and a half years' time.\textsuperscript{96}

Politically, while immigrants residing in Westchester fled NYC's high rents and Tammany Democratic strongholds, “the Republican machines in the suburbs and small towns were no less centralized, and they operated more efficiently because they shunned publicity.”\textsuperscript{97} The structure of the number of Westchester towns and villages were Led first by William Robertson, a former Whig NY State Assemblyman, Boss Robertson is credited with enabling James Garfield’s nomination to move forward at the 1880 Republican National convention. Robertson guided the annexation of three key Democratic strongholds in what is now known as the Bronx jettisoning more than 25% of the population of Westchester County to NYC with the goal of solidifying Republican dominance in all of the rest of Westchester County. In 1894 Republicans won control of NYC .After “Boss” Robertson’s death left the Westchester Machine without a headmaster, William L. Ward’s leadership ensured that the GOP would continue

\textsuperscript{96} Illustrated History of Mt. Vernon, \textit{The Daily Eagle} http://archive.org/details/dailyeaglesillusOObac

\textsuperscript{97} Partisan Politics in America’s Suburb: Presidential Elections in Westchester County, from Andrew Jackson to Barack Obama, The Westchester Historian v. 90 no.4 Fall 2014 page 107

\textit{Civic Goods: A Minority Report}
its unhampered dominance because of its popularity in the polity. Ward, a Quaker, served one term as a U.S. Representative in the 55th Congress was one of nineteen House members who opposed the U.S. Declaration of war against Spain in 1898. He never sough an official office thereafter. He served Westchester as a political Republican “Boss”, determined to eliminate the graft and patronage that had defined his party. He was noted as a “remarkable genius in promoting good local government... what he accomplished in Westchester County is an example to every county in the United States”.

The rail was like manna from heaven for the Irish drawing them out of the city to jobs and cheaper homes in Westchester. Not true for blacks who were sidelined and marginalized relegated to old economy domestic service, unable on a large scale to enjoy the benefit of organized labor, or access credit markets so they could participate in land development opportunities. Even those blacks who were able to collectively save money found residential areas closed to them as landowners due to segregation. “In its 446.2 square miles Westchester County represented an urban and rural mix... growth came swiftly to the areas closest to NYC. By 1930 a large number of Blacks came to Mount Vernon and New Rochelle... As the Depression in the 1930’s began, there was a construction

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boom in Westchester fueled by enormous construction projects.. but even during the depression wealth remained a hallmark of the county....

The 20’s roared as Westchester’s population grew from 344,436 in 1920 to 520,047 in 1930 a 52.2% increase” p 109. The mills and factories employed 28 nationalities of new Americans who made up 25% of the populations. As the rents surged the Depression brought its share of misery to Westchester in spite of the fact that “real estate wealth remained a hallmark of the County” Domestic service occupied 16.3% of the workers…”

Following a revival of the KKK in the 1920s after a long dormancy, cross-burnings were a regular feature of life in the leafy Westchester suburb. Interestingly, many of the earlier cross-burnings in the Klan era targeted Irish Catholic community: As tension over the economy increased so too did Westchester membership in Ku Klux Klan “... Herbert Storm a night watchman at Otis Elevator founded a chapter in Yonkers after securing organizational information from Georgia in 1923...Upon questioning by the police, Storm

99 OP Cit., Neil S. Martin page 110
Civic Goods: A Minority Report
reported that there were unchartered groups meeting regularly in Mt Vernon, New Rochelle and Portchester. 100

“Most of the cross-burnings were targeted at groups, but the menacing spectacle could be glaringly specific. In 1930, a cross was burned on the front lawn of Errold Collymore, a dentist from Barbados who broke the color barrier in White Plains by buying a house in a white neighborhood. 101 Relatives of Collymore, who died in 1970, recounted how he went out to document the burning cross in his pajamas, a camera in one hand, a rifle in the other.[102]

100 Jane McMahon, Ed McMahon, Westchester From the Roaring 20’s to V-J Day Marilyn E. Weigold ed., Westchester County The Past Hundred Years (Valhalla: Westchester County Historical Society, 1083) Page 120

101

102 by Robert Marchant The Journal News, November 28, 2007 Northern suburbs have history of Klan rallies, burning crosses”

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Errold D. Collymore D.D.S. (1893-1972), a dentist and activist, who would become known as “Westchester’s Fighting Dentist,” moved to Westchester County in 1926 and integrated the Community Church of White Plains in 1927. When in 1930 the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross in front of his new home the Unitarian church members supported him. Some employers, in an attempt to drive him out of business, told their African-American employees they would be fired if they used Collymore. In turn, members of the Community Church left their own dentists and went to him, later founding the first chapter of the White Plains-
Collymore was one of a small, but not insignificant group of black immigrants living in Westchester who were not native born, but in fact recent immigrants from The West Indies. Well into the eighteenth century, the majority of the enslaved in the North had either lived or were born in the Caribbean. In New York, which had the North's largest enslaved population, people from the Caribbean continued to outnumber Africans brought directly from the continent. Those of West Indian origin gained a reputation for rebelliousness after a revolt in New York City in 1712 and although laws placed higher duties on them, the imbalance continued. One estimate puts the ratio of Caribbean to African slaves at three to one between 1715 and 1730. Of captives introduced to the New York region, the largest number came from Jamaica, followed by Africa, Barbados, and Antigua. By the late 1800s the United States had vested economic and political interests in the Caribbean. United States policy makers considered the region to be strategically important both for commercial routes to South America and for the defense of the southern U.S. mainland against

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wartime attack. For these reasons the U.S. government pursued an aggressive strategy to establish and maintain control over the political and economic affairs of the region. While much of the literature diminishes Caribbean immigration in this period, the community of West Indian immigrants accounted for nearly 18% of the black population of NYC and the neighboring suburbs as early as 1920.

"The period from 1900 to 1920 marked the initiation of mass labor migration from the Caribbean to the United States and the formation of the first large Caribbean communities in the United States...This shift was part of a global transformation of migration processes...populations were now moving from the periphery to the new industrial centers...During World War I the recruitment of labor from the Caribbean (and Latin America) became more pronounced, as laborers from the region compensated for the reduced number of European immigrants to the United States. More than 100,000 Caribbean laborers were recruited for agricultural and menial jobs in the United States as part of war efforts." 105

Fig 21 West Indians arriving at Ellis Island Medical Exam Popular Science Monthly, Vol. LXXX, April 1912, pp. 384-390.

105 Indigenous People of Africa and America http://www.iposa.com/caribbean_immigration_why.htm
Retrieved 4-1-15
Civic Goods: A Minority Report
CHAPTER 11  Fighting like the 369th

African-American participation in WWI, with NY troop 15 became well known as the Fighting 369th, or the Harlem Hell Fighters. Recruits from the African and Pan-American community to this NY regiment was thought to impact the status of the black man - to gain acceptance as an American and to be able to stand "shoulder to shoulder" against the common foreign enemy. The regiment trained with the French before serving on the front lines. The entire unit was given the distinguished Croix de Guerre by the French national government for their service.

"Yet, despite the sacrifices and courage displayed by African American soldiers during the war, they nevertheless encountered a virulent backlash of white racism upon their return to the United States. A number of newly discharged soldiers- still wearing their uniforms- were lynched by white mobs. The post-war Civic Goods: A Minority Report
landscape was rife with racial and economic tension. The demobilization of the troops was met with severe and rising inflation and unemployment. At the war's end, approximately 9 million people were employed in industries pertaining to the overseas effort. The war effort had provided openings for the migration of blacks into urban manufacturing jobs, but with the war's end job scarcity fueled the notion among working class white workers that blacks were taking their places in the labor force. The economic boom that occurred in New York State had an impact on segregation. This can be seen with the GI Bill, which benefited many returning soldiers after WWII. Once they returned home after the war, blacks instead of finally gaining access to civic goods with the full faith and credit that their service to the nation in both blood and treasure had afforded them faced not only discrimination but also hostility, violence and poverty. While police departments did not conduct lynchings, very few perpetrators of public lynchings and murders of black citizens were thwarted, apprehended, or prosecuted by law enforcement agencies. Subjugation and under employment represented another barrier to harnessing the higher education benefits of their veteran status, as poverty made seeking an education problematic while labor and income were needed at home.
Enlisting in armed services did help black men emerge as national heroes in the communities from which they came, but the larger questions regarding the financial and social gains and the impact of their service on their civic standing were harder to qualify. Did immigrant blacks from the West Indies fare any better than native-born blacks in the suburbs and near urban centers after the War? Were they able to make substantial and sustainable gains that encompassed civic goods?
housing ownership, education and political representation? Were they able to form associations? The answer is yes, but. Immigrant blacks did find a measure of success making remarkable gains in higher education, small business, housing and civic organizations. Though substantial footholds were made after the depression, these were not demonstrated to be sustained in generations subsequent to the 2nd. The property records in Westchester do not distinguish between native born African-Americans and those who emigrated from the Caribbean, but a review of the scholarship reveals a few important studies that helped to shape current opinion on the gains in wealth and assets made by immigrant blacks from English speaking countries.

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106 Immigrants in the United States: How Well Are They Integrating into Society? By Tomás R. Jiménez
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Civil society in the African-Caribbean community was vibrant and well developed. Immigrants established a plethora of social, political, and economic organizations: churches, church groups, rotating credit clubs, political clubs, alumni associations, benevolent associations, and social and sports clubs. What differences are there between these associations and the ones that helped earlier groups to accumulate wealth? Concomitant economic and political support from the establishment; land development deals, as well as municipal jobs, and employment on major infrastructure projects in great number were not the net result of black immigrant associations as they had been for earlier waves of immigrants.
CHAPTER 12 Alla Dem Garveyites
Marcus Garvey and his organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.), represent the largest mass movement in African-American history, larger in popularity than the Civil Rights movement. Proclaiming a black nationalist "Back to Africa" message, Garvey and the U.N.I.A. established 700 branches in thirty-eight states by the early 1920s. African Americans, newcomers and native born who joined the movement identified with the message of economic advancement and independence that Garvey promoted. After surveying the racial situation in America, Garvey an immigrant from St. Ann's parish in Jamaica, was convinced that integration would never happen and that

Fig 23 Garvey Address to the 2nd U.N.A convention 1921

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only economic, political, and cultural success on the part of African Americans would bring about equality and respect. With this goal he established the headquarters of the U.N.I.A. in New York in 1917 and began to spread a message of black nationalism and the eventual return to Africa of all people of African descent. His brand of black nationalism had three components—unity, pride in the African cultural heritage, and complete autonomy.

Garvey believed that the position of the Africans in America would not change unless they owned the means to produce wealth. In 1919 he established the Negro Factories Corporation and offered stock for African Americans to buy. He wanted to produce everything that a nation needed so that African Americans could completely rely on their own efforts. At one point the corporation operated three grocery stores, two restaurants, a printing plant, a steam laundry, and owned several buildings and trucks in New York City alone. Many of Garvey's collaborators, financiers, attorney's and members comprised the black elite of Westchester.

Would Garvey's organization integrate into the larger political and economic framework? As a representative of such a large constituency would he be given civic goods, land at a discounted rate, as well as access to capital and finance? Technical assistance, land grants and capital along with authority of the polity would have been a good thing considering the enormity of Garvey's vision. The U.N.I.A.'s fateful endeavor to purchase ships and begin a shipping and cargo
company in the end, would be the failing that would define the great unwinding. Had Garveyites been allowed to graft their organization to any physical municipality - much as the Huguenots, Irish and Germans before them had - it might have been a game changer - at least in NY. At it is height the U.N.I.A had between 60,000 and 70,000 dues paying members. Had the U.N.I.A evolved into a modern political partisan influence - been incubated - as had occurred for other ethnic groups creating machines of opportunity and levers of advancement, the system created would have worked for African-Americans as a whole. The American system was unable to accept these transformational leaders, or see the opportunity presented by a mass of new voters. Instead of being absorbed into the polity as Boss Tweed had in NYC and Boss Robertson had in Westchester, Marcus Mosiah Garvey was arrested, charged with fraud and in 1925 was sentenced to five years imprisonment. He had served half of his sentence when President Calvin Coolidge commuted the rest of his prison term and had him deported to Jamaica. This can been seen as nothing if not evidence of a deep structural problem in the polity. What Tammany Hall was to the Irish and Italians, Germans and Lithuanians, in America the U.N.I.A. sought on some level to perform for the Africans in America. Defining institutional racism as "the practices and policies of large institutions that perpetuate [racial] inequality and

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white privilege." Manning Marable provides this definition of structural racism:

"Structural racism can be understood as the deep institutional patterns of a racialized society, the basic arrangements of power and privilege that aggressively and relentlessly oppress and harm the life chances and opportunities of blacks and many other people of color. The result of structural racism is grossly unequal outcomes between racial groups, with "whiteness" defined at the social top and "blackness" usually confined at the bottom of the social hierarchy."

Much as the Dutch Huguenot, Quaker, and Irish Tammany Hall associations had granted its members special interest, it is likely that Garvey's model would have made more of an enduring impact on the asset acquisition and economic outcome of black communities overall had he prevailed in localized machine politics, but because of institutional racism and a bit of his own hubris he could not. In any case, Garvey's writings have continued to inform every subsequent black nationalist movement, and the teachings certainly reverberated in West Indian families throughout the metropolitan areas where members had joined generations ago.

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109 Manning Marable, Structural Racism: No Harm, No Foul?, Along the Color Line (April 2000)
CHAPTER 13 Drawing Red Lines in the Green, green grass

It is important to note that by 1938 the, "Budget and Appropriations Committee of the Westchester County Board of Supervisors had a greater tax haul that the annual budgets of 39 states of the Union" \(^{110}\) This economic activity was a boon to the cities of New Rochelle and Mt. Vernon, both were well serviced by the transportation network, and had a commuter class of residents who helped to foster the local economy.

The GI bill was an economic stimulus mainly used by white veterans to buy homes. In 1947, William J Levitt developed single family, tract housing for World War II veterans. However, some of these housing units were built primarily for white citizens only. Thus, even economic stimulus plans developed at the national level allowed racist exclusions in practice as many retuning African
American soldiers were unable to benefit from them, and the homegrown state sanctioned terrorism even after blacks had bled on the field defending the nation die-cast a sense in the polity on a deep level that black life just did not matter.

Anathema to black taxpayers was the segregation in municipal employment. In spite of continuous black residence in the City of New Rochelle since its founding, the local governments in both New Rochelle and Mt. Vernon were exclusively white. City fathers effectively submerged employment status of the entire black workforce.111 No matter how organized blacks were on a Sunday, by Monday morning none of the municipal jobs would be open to them. Instead, the larger bureaucracy devised conventions legal and informal to exclude blacks from the wider market; segregation and exclusion in employment made it such

111 Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century Andrew Wiese University of Chicago Press, Apr 24, 2009 page 60

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that in New Rochelle and Mt. Vernon, "There was only one thing you could do, either cook, or wash, or iron"\textsuperscript{112}

This combined with the migration from the south effected a sudden feminized minority presence in Westchester. In a familiar pattern, black women who dominated domestic service in Scarsdale, Bronxville and Larchmont, resided primarily in Mt. Vernon and New Rochelle. Once well ensconced, they would serve as recruiters for women from the southern states for other wealthy employers, and middle class homeowners who needed help to maintain their manor homes and garden estates. Yet domestic service was characterized by a standard of living that was unpredictable at best and as an unprotected, non-unionized, cohort of workers both the conditions and the wages earned were unregulated and off the books in most cases. In many ways this labor class served to elevate white women’s standing. So much so that housing was established to accommodate the domestic labor force. Such a large segment of the population working in the informal sector provided this group with no meaningful opportunity for collective bargaining. What is remarkable is the work

\textsuperscript{112} Op Cit Wiese page 62

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these women did anyway to bring their issues into the public square. Immigrant and African-American women workers in domestic service represented the largest sector of women's employment until the 1940's.\textsuperscript{113} That domestic workers were excluded as a class from the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 as well as from New York State labor law in 1930, meant that women workers in general, and black women workers in particular had no formal standing with respect to public policy and law makers. While women were vocal about conditions, without a formal role in the polity the issues that impacted them found no quarter in legislation.

For Black men the landscape was dire; Blacks had been deemed unfit for manufacturing work, not only due to a lack of technical skill, but also because it was perceived that white men would never abide working side by side with blacks in the mills, and never with white women, according to a “study” published by the Manufacturers Record of Baltimore in 1893\textsuperscript{114}. Such conclusions made it easy to categorically exclude blacks from entering the industrial labor market at all. A survey conducted of African American workers in NY conducted in 1900 and compared to one conducted just 5 years later in 1905 indicates a steep


\textsuperscript{114} Colored Help for Textile Mills, Manufacturers' Record, (Baltimore, Md.) Sept. 22, 1893

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decline of black workers engaged in skilled trades in the period. Most certainly there is evidence of change in this outcome in the period between 1940-48 when the labor market in New York experienced extreme war time shortages and more black men immigrated from the southern states to fill skilled trades positions that were left wanting, but the unbalanced labor markets did not provide black men with many opportunities to learn skills associated with the emergent industries of the time.

In the period after the first World War, Westchester became identified as the idealized suburb; homogeneous, affluent, elite; green and leafy. The picture that emerges upon closer inspection is a one of a racially as well as economically diverse community. That both Mt. Vernon and New Rochelle neighborhoods had large populations of immigrants as well as native born and migrant African-Americans made them, along with a handful of other towns and cities around the county different in significant ways. Each were aligned politically not only by ethnicity, but also by socioeconomic grouping and historic residential patterns.

115

The Common School and the Negro American: Report of a Social Study Made by Atlanta University with the Proceedings of the 16th Annual Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, Held at Atlanta University, on Tuesday, May 30th, 1911, Issues 15-20 page 68

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that became increasingly segregated and homogeneous. Italian, German, Jewish, Irish and African-American enclaves characterized the neighborhoods in the larger suburban cities like New Rochelle and Mount Vernon. “The myth of the white suburb is shattered by the reality of its real, diverse population and diversity meant anyone who did not have the standard English ancestry... those white Dutch, French and English settlers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries owe their success to the hundreds of slaves who worked the country’s soil, helping to make the breadbasket of the American Revolution.”

In the period after WWI, white labor in Westchester had become conscious of their role in relation to capital and market forces; having stood together against annexation to NYC, battled in the work camps of the Croton Dam, and after witnessing the suffering and desperate losses in the 1911 shirtwaist factory fire, workers were sensitized to the union movement, the effectiveness of collective action and reform. They were also pretty sure that they did not want to work, or live very close to African-Americans.

In New Rochelle and Mt Vernon, African-American women took the place of Irish women in the domestic labor force as these women emerged from the lower

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classes to the working classes—up, and away. After WW I, between 1920 and 1940 1.5 million blacks migrated from southern states. The stage was set as neighborhood district lines, redlines and electoral boundaries were drawn in the green grass that represented political and economic spheres of influence—not necessarily the interests of the people living in the neighborhoods.

World War I initiated a labor shortage especially in the industrial northeast as industrial laborers became infantryman. The pull was irresistible to Southern blacks who could finally flee both Jim Crow and the lynch mob in great numbers. The surge of 6 million black migrants created tension in the northern urban centers. Whites feared a loss of control over jobs, the education system, residential areas, and their way of life. “During this time, whites organized to ensure residential segregation through political and structural means. Local zoning laws that excluded rooming houses and other affordable accommodations, and restrictive covenants—often established by local real estate boards—under which property owners agreed contractually not to sell or lease their properties to Blacks became common...northern whites viewed this rising tide of black migration with increasing hostility and considerable alarm

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Residential segregation patterns emerged in these early days both in Mt. Vernon as well as New Rochelle where the towns built affluent enclaves - literally gated entries replete with manned guard stations. The impoverished immigrants were pocketed in areas on the periphery and blacks lived on one or the other side of the tracks. The quality of the delivery of civic dividends - schools, resources and services delivered to the community were dictated by what side of the tracks you lived on.

The most important finding related to our present study is that Schneider and Phalen found that the rate of black population increase is inversely related to expenditures on infrastructure. They found in fact that expenditures were highest in communities with the lowest percentage black. "Thus blacks are not gaining access to suburbs that are investing in the local public goods and services necessary to prosper in the future and to meet the demands of the businesses and wealthier residents." ¹¹⁸


¹¹⁸ Race, Ethnicity, and Class in American Suburbs, Thomas J Phalen and Mark Schneider 1996 page 276
PART 3 POLICE & THIEVES IN THE STREETS: Property Ownership
Taxes, Tax Caps & Government Entitlement Spending Priorities in Minority Communities

CHAPTER 14 They Tied a Ribbon Round the Tree

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By 1945 when the Second World War ended over a million African-American servicemen were returning to their homes hoping that their patriotic sacrifices on behalf of their communities would yield the simple equality and protection under the law afforded to so many other Americans. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 afforded veterans the professional assistance to match their military skills with a job in a related field, gave them access to unemployment benefits, offered a maximum of four years of free college or vocational education, and access to a VA-guaranteed loan for 'home, farm, or business' acquisition.\(^{119}\)

Restrictive deeds and covenants based on race were perhaps the most comprehensive institutional device created to deny African-Americans and other groups access to housing across the suburban landscape. Just prior to and after World War II real estate boards and neighborhood associations in New Rochelle gathered to be sure they could close ranks and steer the tide of returning servicemen and their families away from the goal of home ownership to segregated neighborhoods and rental properties.


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In 1948 the NAACP conducted extensive interviews with returning veterans.

"In 1945 Hollis L. Metz, an honorably discharged African American veteran, was repeatedly rejected for a VA-guaranteed home loan in New Rochelle, New York, although he was a worthy credit risk with a high annual income. By August 1945 he had been rejected by three local banks. Metz was employed at the U.S. Navy Project earning a substantial annual salary of $3,250. During that year, the average FHA mortgage insurance recipient earned an annual income of $3,118 and paid a "median monthly mortgage payment" of only $39.21.6 Thus Hollis Metz earned enough money to pay this "median monthly mortgage payment" by only working four days a month. In addition to his competitive annual income, Metz had $500 in a savings account and two life insurance policies worth $2,000. Despite his considerable savings, annual income, and eligibility for a "no down payment" GI Bill mortgage loan guaranty, Metz, his wife, and their two children were ultimately unable to purchase the home of their dreams because of racial discrimination."\(^{120}\)

The Metz family is known to the author. The Metz family remains in rental housing in New Rochelle, and while some of the family members prevailed,

\(^{120}\) Benjamin Morrell to Jesse O. Dedmon, 18 August 1945 and 27 August 1945, Part 9, Series C, reel 8, frames 375–377, NAACP Papers
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many more of the family members still also do struggle in impoverished circumstance on public assistance, homelessness, and with addiction. I must resist the temptation to view the seemingly anecdotal evidence we have thus far presented in the chain on chain legacy of forced labor, state sponsored hostility and categorical exclusionary labor practice, voter disqualification, and housing policies, in New Rochelle and Mount Vernon as endemic to an entire class. Yet it certainly deserves further study to unpack the measurable economic harm to African-Americans in specific communities such as these where there is little question that could not be resolved with a simple genetic test as to the ancestral relationship between both the plaintiff and defendant in the case of the Landrines. As for the Metz family, longitudinal studies of economic outcomes for Veterans families who received the benefit in New Rochelle and Mt Vernon and those who did not. There is clear and irrefutable proof that the net worth of black Americans as calculated by accumulation of assets less liabilities as compared to white Americans similarly or less educated has no rational explanation outside of the systematic disenfranchisement of the African Americans. Particular emphasis must be paid to collecting the oral narrative, and correlating them to the written and historical record of actual decedents of forced labor, veterans that were denied VA benefits, and victims of state sponsored hostility in New

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Roxanne Neilson

Rochelle and Mount Vernon in order to present a cogent case for reparations following the precedent set in Pigford v. Glickman 121

In the early 1940's the NAACP worked tirelessly to bring suits against the Federal government's Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), the Veteran Association (VA) and Federal Home Association (FHA) for policies that effectively encouraged residential segregation and exclusion. As a result, the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed racially restrictive covenants in 1948, but exclusionary zoning laws de jure are still a common tool for perpetuating de facto segregation. The local real estate industry system was now working in concert with the Federal Government to dismantle for the black community the most likely vehicle of wealth generation available to the greatest number of Americans: the single family home.

"Real estate agents also acted through a practice known as 'blockbusting' to thwart the attempts of middle class Blacks to escape the ghetto. As demand increased for homes for Black families, stirred up fears among White homeowners that the neighborhood was being "invaded" by Blacks in order to induce panic selling. They then bought houses from desperate White owners at cut-rate prices and sold them to Blacks for a profit." 122

121 Black farmers filed a cause of action claiming harm from discrimination in the awarding of USDA farm loans, debt restructuring and crop payments. In 1997 a class-action lawsuit was filed by Pigford seeking damages and injunctive relief. On April 14, 1999, Judge Paul L. Friedman of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia approved a settlement agreement and consent decree in Pigford v. Glickman — which was later named Pigford v. Vilsack and came to be known as Pigford


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Residential segregation did not translate to control of the polity or responsiveness of the immediate authority in the areas that blacks were segregated to. It is very important to note that a high level of club organization and coordination in the Black community’s “Big Six” organizations (Negro Sanhedrin), combined with cottage and artisan industries that black residents in Mt. Vernon and New Rochelle nurtured had, along with the practice of subletting rooms due to the severe housing shortage, delivering fuel, catering, livery, and taking in laundry in their homes encouraged a vibrant albeit small mercantile class of blacks in their own right. It was out of this context that Africans continued to re-group and re-formulate cogent demands in the next decades to end the starkness of the inequality again in the courts. The systematic dismantling of African-American’s rightful access to Federal Loan and Housing programs in the 1940’s and 1950’s, combined with local authorities use of restrictive covenants, and historic lack of access to credit markets denied these Americans at a critical juncture the assets that constitute the basis of most American middle class wealth today.

“The exclusion of African American veterans from certain GI Bill benefits to which they were entitled should be considered a national tragedy. Since 1944, it has served to hinder the descendants of these servicemen so profoundly that, without some form of reparations, its effects will continue to reverberate....”

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In 1955 the Bureau of the Census conducted a veterans' survey and estimated that between 1944 and 1955, the VA guaranteed 3,914,535 mortgages, with fewer than 30,000 or (0.7 percent) of these home loans made to African American veterans.\textsuperscript{123} The case of the Metz family demands further scholarship in order to identify the number of black veteran families in New Rochelle and Mt. Vernon who were similarly denied. It will be important to gather both the oral histories as well as collate the documentary evidence that exists for these families that remain in these areas, as well as for those who have left. A case for reparations as a class should be made on their behalf.

Chapter 15 Across the Tracks in the Back and Behind

At-large elections of most official local government authority was the norm in towns, villages and school districts throughout New York State, and in many areas this is still true. In the 1930's New Rochelle and Mount Vernon both were run by strong mayor models, with councils that ran for office in city wide at-large
elections. A salient feature of the at-large voting model is the jurisdiction wide balloting.

While In the colonial period, towns in New York State were initially governed through the town hall meeting at which public officials were elected by whoever was present. Changes in 1875 and 1893 extended the area to a district, but candidacy remained local\textsuperscript{124}. Town boards in each County in NY had a supervisor, a clerk, and a number of justices.\textsuperscript{125} After the 1930's both Mount Vernon and New Rochelle has sizable minority populations each relegated to areas either adjacent to the city center in the case of New Rochelle, or on the "south side" of the railroad tracks in Mount Vernon.


Civic Goods: A Minority Report
African American & White American Population

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During the Great Migration, whites in northern cities feared that the surge of migrant blacks would overwhelm the “say-so” of the local electorate. New York State was not alone when in 1921 they passed a preemptive amendment to the State’s Constitution providing that only *newly* registered voters would need to pass a literacy test, or be examined by a local educator to demonstrate a competent understanding of the Constitution. It was later acceptable to provide an 8th grade diploma for inspection and acceptance by local authorities.

Although there is scholarship that identified that prior to the 1940s better educated black men and women from the southern states were most likely to

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126 Based on U.S. Census of Population 1920, and 1960 it is clear that while the populations of each group increased, the population of blacks in both Mt Vernon and New Rochelle trebled in size, while the white population doubled.

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migrate, after 1939 most adult migrants had only attained a 4th grade level education prior to leaving the South\textsuperscript{127}. Thus the educational system in NYS joined forces with the local government and through the device of the literacy test, sought to disenfranchise the multitude of newly arrived black voters specifically.

The use of at-large elections becomes an important device that serves to effectively dilute minority groups votes within smaller districts and will in later periods be found by the courts to be, “suspect under the Federal Voting Rights Act as a procedure highly likely to result in denying members of protected minority groups an effective choice at the polls”. \textsuperscript{128}

The council-manager government/Weak Mayor form is one of two predominant forms of local government in the United States; the other common form of local government is the mayor-council government/Strong Mayor form, New Rochelle presently has the former while Mt. Vernon the latter.

\textsuperscript{127} F. C. Crawford \textit{New York State Literacy Test} \textit{The American Political Science Review} Vol. 19, No. 4 (Nov., 1925), pp. 788-790
\textsuperscript{128} Op Cit Benjamin page 734

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In 1899 Michael J. Dillon, a Democrat, narrowly defeated Hugh A. Harmer to become New Rochelle's first mayor. Dillon ran on a campaign promising to improve the city's roads, schools, and libraries in order to attract well-educated homeowners from NYC. The recently established city charter designated four wards, a board of alderman (two from each ward), and 10 elected from the city at large. The black community was spread across the first and second ward.

By 1919, New Rochelle's total population of 35,835 was noted as being 29.7% Native White, 34.1% Foreign Mixed White; 30.1% Foreign White and...

130 based on census 1920

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6.1% Black. Mt Vernon was somewhat larger than New Rochelle at 42,117, but even fewer blacks lived in the City than did reside in New Rochelle. Clearly, based on the demographics, blacks would not be able to swing any election in town unless and until they aligned their interests with another group, or if the race was very close. But this would be the “Red” summer that would culminate in a crescendo of terror that had simmered since emancipation: unbridled violence in the form of black lynchings all across the south. So every vote would count, unless it didn’t get counted, or if the voter was disqualified from the get go.

Local policymakers in New Rochelle & Mt. Vernon anticipating the wave of migrant labor and would create laws to hem in the black electorate, and segregate them from other similarly situated lower class whites, but make no attempt to augment housing employment or schools to accommodate the all but certain shortfall. This in fact may have been ruminated in the back room discussions and indiscretions of the town fathers; those descendants of the original Irish Quakers wildly successful trolley manufacturer Stephenson, and

131 The Brookline Community The Journal of Education Vol. 86, No. 9 (1914) (September 13, 1917) pp. 235-236

132 Read for yourself the case of Leonard Kip Rhinelander one of NYC’s Gilded Age 400’s, heir to the founding New Rochelle Quaker Rhinelander real estate fortune. Leonard fell in love and married Alice Jones of New Rochelle in 1923. The highly publicised divorce initiated by his family after finding out that Alice was actually a black woman put into public discussion the question of race class, property and wealth: Love on Trial: An American Scandal in Black and White

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the Quaker family who owned the Flour Mill factory in town named Mott, as well
as the Huguenots who were leading from completely above-the merchant and
banking class for whom the manor homes were built. Newly arrived immigrants-
largely foreign born whites- relegated to working class neighborhoods on the
periphery would not have readily joined forces with blacks who they could only
see as a competing group marginalized politically and so visibly under siege.

Chapter 16 Follow the Money

Washington describes in detail 25 black owned businesses from building to
banking. He wrote, “of the 76,026 persons of negro blood living in this country
and engaged in a profession, and in the trades requiring a skill, 21,161 are
teachers and professors. Only 9,838 are in businesses requiring capital.”
Washington found in New Rochelle a black community willing and striving.

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Through his organization the New Rochelle Cooperative Business league was founded in 1900 with $25,000 in capital. The Lincoln Avenue neighborhood was the center of all things black. Segregated, yes, but it was also known for the small cottage businesses that its residents had founded. Distinctly larger than the Mt Vernon African-American community, New Rochelle’s enclave of blacks was geographically segregated, but flourishing because of the influx of educated and entrepreneurial classes of blacks. The Shiloh Baptist Church, Bethesda, St, Catherine’s AME Zion, St Simon’s the Cyrenian, and the historic AME church founded downtown n 1888 (I located a Sanborn Fire Insurance map from 1889 that indicated the AME church to be located near Anderson Place and Rose Avenue- the current site has been completely changed, but this is the present location of the New Rochelle Public Library). These churches served as a springboard for the black community spiritually as well as economically as they lined the half mile up Lincoln Avenue like soldiers with food sellers, tailors, barber and hairstylists shops owned by the congregants in between.

In the back, and behind the main thoroughfare, the old African neighborhood weaved and stretched along the rail with wooden shanty homes from the train tracks in between Morris, Winyah Avenue, and Smith streets. When the Thruway was expanded, this neighborhood was obliterated and its residents
scattered. In the 1940s “the Hollow” a public housing project across town was built, the former residents of the old African neighborhood were given a year’s free rent in consideration of their lost homes. Many families descendants are still there.

Mount Vernon became independent of Eastchester when it was charted in 1892. At this time they 5 wards each with a supervisor, 2 alderman elected from their respective wards, and a mayor, as well as other city officials including the school board to be elected at large. Again blacks residential patterns did not conform with ward designations.

In the early part of the 20th century Mt. Vernon was a city on the verge. With the population doubling from 21,228 in 1900 to nearly 43,000 twenty years later, Mt. Vernon had taken good advantage of its location and its ample railway service. New homes were being built for the real estate market. In 1893 when the New Haven railroad track was set at a lower elevation than the street, the work to cut the street and lay the track belonged to the Italian immigrant laborers who also lived on the south side, and who were later joined by the black American migrants. This bisection of Mt. Vernon by the rail north and south defined the
division between the have and the have nots with the latter living in increasingly cramped neighborhoods on the southern end of the city.

The chasm in the city also reflected the inequality of resource allocation for public facilities on each side of the city garnered by highly politicized municipal finance policies. As poverty and poorly financed south side schools began to characterize this part of the City, the level of segregation increased. Italians immigrants that could afford to leave did leave the neighborhood and moved to the other side of the tracks, or to less integrated communities in close proximity to Mt Vernon. With expanding enrollment came unfamiliar bureaucratic tasks for suburban school trustees, as districts nationwide faced a lengthening list of standards related to public education. A new lexicon of schooling emerged, including jargon like “inefficiencies,” “adjustments and differentiations,” and on the federal level, the U.S. Commissioner of Education influenced curriculum by encouraging vocational or physical education, for example. But state education departments exerted the most direct control over graduation requirements, teacher certification, and school construction.133 Tax payers began to grow

133 Educational Administration & Supervision edited by Charles Hughes Johnson, Lotus D. Coffman, and David Snedden (Baltimore, 1917)

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increasingly conservative about spending on the schools as the population of the immigrants and migrants workers increased.

Richard Garfunkel grew up in Mt Vernon and was able to recount how precisely the city was organized racially and what schools served which neighborhoods. He grew up there in the period between 1945-65 and remembered,

"African-Americans lived on the Southwest side of town with poor Italians and other whites: the Washington Jr. High/Alexander Hamilton School areas; lower and middle class Italians and Jews lived in the Graham School district; middle and upper middle class Protestants, Irish and Jews lived in the Traphagen School district; Middle class Jews and Italians lived in the Fleetwood or Nichols school district; also there were always a significant number of Roman Catholics who sent their children to parochial schools." 134

Mount Vernon in 1940, the population of 67,362 was 73.3 percent native-born whites, 19 percent foreign-born whites and 7.6 percent blacks. 135 By 1960 the black population swelled to nearly 20% of the population. Yet, when a brand new school was constructed in Mt Vernon in 1954 it was sited in a neighborhood near Pelham that guaranteed 100% white attendance. Blacks residential patterns in both New Rochelle and Mount Vernon were distributed across political wards,


http://nyti.ms/1BmpG3Y

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making their ability to sway elections for supervisors and alderman in their neighborhoods unlikely. However in the at-large elections that were very close the black vote if consolidated could swing the result.

It is generally accepted that while public funding in the United States comes from federal, state, and local sources, that nearly half of those funds come from local property taxes, generating large funding differences between wealthy and impoverished communities. That such differences exist among states, and among school districts and municipalities within each state is fairly clear, but how can this occur even among schools and institutions within specific districts? Whether institutions serving residents with different levels of need receive different levels of resources and exploring the ways that resources change in response to changes in needs.

Both New Rochelle and Mt Vernon in the 1960's found their communities segregated and marginalized. Instead of the suburbs becoming more integrated in fact they were becoming less so. Investigators Massey and Denton take a look back at the research and data from the 1970’s that seemed to indicate that residential racial integration was in decline. They found that counter to expectation, integration arose mainly in

areas where comparatively few blacks lived. In this process, blacks move into the aging inner suburbs that are concurrently abandoned by whites. "Suburban blacks tend to live in highly segregated suburbs which are not only close to the central cities, but are also characterized by few jobs, poor governmental services, and high tax rates." Interested in the relationship between the wealth of the community and the change in the size of its black population, scholars thought that the concept of wealth and power should be broadened. Consider if wealth has two dimensions; related to the personal resources of the community—measured by median income, median home value or the population that is low income, then it should also be measured also by the system of public finance in the area. The wealth of the community would then be measured by both the cumulative wealth of the citizens based on assets acquisition and valuation, but also by the strength of its tax base. In understanding the impact of race and the systematic disenfranchisement on black suburban communities like New Rochelle and Mount Vernon it is important to determine if strategic resources were available to minorities. In the period after the World War II where African Americans migrating to these cities in great number it would be critical to their success in these communities that

investments be made in local public goods to improve housing, improve schools, and direct the infrastructure improvements (quality roads that serve their communities, sanitation, accessible public facilities like libraries and public spaces.) All of these investments are necessary for a vibrant local economy.

Fiscal wealth is measured then by a community having a strong tax base and is identified as "one of the most important strategic resources a community possesses." Allowing the municipality an array of options on the policy side of the house: "A strong tax base gives communities a wide range of policy options: it enables communities to choose either good services at a modest tax rate or low levels of service at commensurately lower tax rate. In contrast, communities with a poor tax base often are confined to the worst of all worlds; they must tax themselves heavily to generate even modest revenues." In this period both New Rochelle and Mt. Vernon were experiencing relatively favorable local bond markets and economic expansion of their commercial bases, they were also devolving more bureaucratic function to the County and positioning themselves for the federal monies that were in the pipeline.

Reviewing the Mt. Vernon and New Rochelle City budget for 1938 revealed that all of the towns and cities would be relieved of the costs and expenses related to the care of indigent children as this function was going to be assumed at the Civic Goods: A Minority Report
County level with the establishment of a children's welfare agency. Each city also reported that a new Federal program called the Works Progress Administration would be allocating matching funds to each town. Mt. Vernon's plan was to use the funds to repair the school facilities.

"Mount Vernon school trustees paved the way last night for a 1938 Works Progress Administration program for the repair of schools by authorizing Superintendent William H. Holmes to apply for projects on which the local share of expenses will be $25,178. The $25,178 will be transferred from the 1938 budget. None of the projects is expected to be large, although the Building Committee has listed the needs of all of the structures..."  

In spite of this financial support from the State and the Federal government that these cities were eligible for many of the white taxpayers felt that educating African-Americans was somewhat of a wasted effort for a group bound to be porters and housekeepers.

African-Americans controlled very little outside of their neighborhoods in these suburban cities. Reverend Dr. James White was an African-American activist and Pastor Greater Centennial African Methodist Episcopal Church. Under his pastoral administration the church became a pillar and anchor for the southwest section of Mount Vernon. Reverend Dr. White ran an unsuccessful at-large campaign for a school board position in 1932 in spite of there being over 3500 African Americans living in Mt. Vernon all on the Southside of the city. Winning a
political office through the electorate due to the district ward’s gerrymandered lines made it fairly impossible for Black leaders to win a council position as their constituency was scattered over 2 or 3 wards. African Americans surely would have welcomed a Tammany hall system of patronage delivering services benefits and employment opportunities as municipal jobs were largely beyond the pale, where even getting one teacher of color took years of agitating and was front page news in the late 1930’s.

In particular, poor, disabled, and English language learning citizens require more resources in the community health care, education - not less. Looking at budgets for municipal expenditure year to year does not immediately reveal spending priorities, or actual allocations of services neighborhood by neighborhood as these expenditures are accounted for on a city wide basis, but services are assigned on a day to day basis e.g. garbage pick up, street cleaning, streetlight repair. Schools by far comprise the greatest expenditure. The high quality of the schools in both New Rochelle and Mt Vernon up until 1950’s was a source of local pride. Dr. William Holmes superintendent of Mt. Vernon schools 1913-40 was praised for running a school system that was objectively rated among the nation most effective- overall. What changed when you crossed the tracks?
In New Rochelle, population of school children appeared to be increasing by 34% in 1920 and again in 1930. The Lincoln Elementary School was located in a primarily black neighborhood that became increasingly segregated after the war. It had 12 classrooms.

By the 1940s New Rochelle had become rigidly segregated, through the practice of gerrymandering. The housing stock in some of the areas where blacks lived were tantamount to shanty towns. The influx of poor African Americans from the south joining the “native black” population, was combined with wealthier blacks who would purchase the larger homes near the churches on and around Lincoln Avenue. 1930’s-50’s Housing segregation in New Rochelle was pretty simple; wealthy whites lived in the “North End” which meant everything north of Eastchester Road (also known as the Mason-Dixon Line in New Rochelle); Irish lived in the South End. The West End, by Feeney Park and The Boys & Girls Club was Italian as far back as anyone could remember. Blacks lived in the public housing located around Lincoln Avenue and out at City Park. Some historic maps need further study but a number of residents report there being black settlements down town and out east basically around the train tracks, some evidence this researcher found of an old black church in the downtown area and

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the old black school location requires further research, but the locations do corroborate the oral history. School segregation in New Rochelle was far less complex: whites attend school with whites and blacks with blacks. This had not been true in earlier generations, when black children were dispersed throughout the school system after the Negro School was closed in 1885.

When in May of 1954 the Supreme court struck down the de jure segregation of schools in Brown v. Board of Ed., it sent reverberations through every African American community across the country. Within a year of the decision activists were planning workshops to work through the arguments in northern states where segregation was customary or de facto.

In New Rochelle as the Lincoln Avenue neighborhood became even more segregated it was a common practice for the whites who lived in the area to get district exclusions to other white elementary schools in the city. Neighborhoods that were segregated became gerrymandered to ensure that schools would

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140 See Part of Bromley Map 1901 and 1911 for the AME Church located at 27-31 Anderson Street. This researcher presumes AME signifies African Methodist Episcopal. This site enters the record maps in 1911-19 as the Apolithic Faith Church. Phase IA Archaeological and Architectural Assessment
LeCount Square Urban Renewal Project Bounded by North Avenue, Huguenot Street, Anderson Street and
LeCount Place including Block 231, Lots 9, 15, 19, 23, and 27 and the adjacent roadbeds of Anderson Street and LeCount Place New Rochelle, Westchester County, New York

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remain segregated. Parents of black children who wanted to send their children to other schools within the city were denied. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People proved invaluable by orchestrating a series of acts of civil disobedience, where New Rochelle parents attempted to register their children at the predominantly white North End Davis Elementary school. In another, parents are arrested when they refused to leave the Ward Elementary School during a "teach in" protest. Lengthy, contentious school board meetings occurred in January 1949. New Rochelle school officials abolished its racist transfer policy. New Rochelle’s children were all required to attend the neighborhood schools to which they were assigned. White parents revolted and filed a lawsuit (1949) against the city for forcing their children to attend inferior schools. They lost and fled the Lincoln district, leaving the school 94% black. Lincoln school was in a marked state of disrepair. Years of deferred maintenance had made life safety issues paramount, and once scaffolding went up around the perimeter of the building to protect the staff and students from debris falling from overhead, it was obvious to all. By 1957 Lincoln school enrollment becomes 100% black.
As the pot began to boil with the NAACP, the Board of Education voted unanimously to tear down Lincoln school and expend $1.25 million dollars to build a new segregated school in its place for the residents of the area. The referendum was put to a City wide vote and in 1960 it passed with an overwhelming majority- except in the very community where the school was located. This vote served to highlight how at-large elections can negatively impact minority communities.
New Rochelle Board of Education leaders were dismayed. Their suburban idyllic Dick Van Dyke image featured weekly on national television and their self-styled sense of liberalism quickly faded; degenerated in the face of this enormous problem that would not go 'gently into the good night'.
The old dynamic was changing. In 1958, Fulbright scholar Dr. Barbara Mason was named principal of the "white" Roosevelt Elementary School and became the first African-American public school principal outside of New York City. She stood on the wrong side of history when she—not sensing her own frailty as a Civic Goods: A Minority Report
public figure—expressed tin eared to the press her thoughts about the parents who wished to enroll their children in her school that, “Negroes in the Lincoln school did not have the socio-economic background to compete with the students in the North end of town.” After the fracas of the protests, sit ins, news cameras, and the court case she left her post and went on to teach at Queens College. Dr. Mason ever the scholar, was until her last day an ardent supporter of educational programs for minority youth, retired educators, and the special needs population.141

In response to the rising legal action, the school District hired a panel of experts to conduct a study. In December 1957 the group delivered its report called "Racial Imbalance in Public Education New Rochelle, New York". The report which became known as the Dodson report, castigated the school board, and urged the school leaders to immediately correct the deficiency by distributing children to the existing schools.

Black families marched in protest to Lincoln School for two days at the beginning of the 1959 school year. Parents had their children boycott classes, 200 out of the 497 did not attend school. In November a 400 person rally opposed the construction of the new Lincoln School. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP addressed the


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group. The most compelling factors found were the organizational efforts of St Simon’s church and the other local churches in educating their parishioners about the inequality of the separate facility irrespective of its newness. This resulted in a “redefinition of the education question into one of life chanced in a segregated community.” The unusual characteristic was that this action lead to no bloodshed, rather simply an orderly assembly at the court house.

Paul Zuber, an African American Attorney took on the case of the 11 children and their families. Zuber was an African-American attorney who had recently won a dispute with a NYC school board agreed to represent the parents. He recalled, “Demonstrations are for babies...You can go out there and march up and down the street with your placards and sing, ‘We Shall Overcome' till you fall down...but in court only one man can talk at a time and one man is just as big as a whole damn school board” On January 24, 1961 US District Judge Irving Kaufman in a landmark decision found that the New Rochelle Board of Education had through the practice of gerrymandering and segregated housing violated the constitutional rights of the Lincoln school children under the 14th amendment,

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143 Integration Vendetta in a Northern Town " by Keith Wheeler Life Magazine May 6, 1966 page 99

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and so New Rochelle became the first Northern city court ordered to desegregate.\textsuperscript{144}

African Americans had used collective action, the polity, and their religious institutions to force some positive change with respect to education in New Rochelle. For the first time, in 1965, an African-American, Joseph Evans, a Republican, was appointed to an unexpired term in the Council and then won three full terms in At Large elections, following which he was defeated in 1975 by a white candidate, his success may be attributed to a pre-emptive strike by the white Republican party to ward off a similar action at the ballot box as had been won in the court. But the real crux of the matter had always been the segregated housing, little access to municipal employment, and chronic low-income of its inhabitants, and that wasn't going to change not even a little bit in the 30 years before the decision, or the 50 years after.

Many factors were at work in Mount Vernon in the decade of the 1950's. The City like New Rochelle, was experiencing a large influx of African Americans. Unlike New Rochelle at the time of World War II, the population of Mount Vernon was nearly 100% white. The population of Mount Vernon was 10% African-American

\textsuperscript{144} https://law.resource.org/pub/us/case/reporter/F2/024/204.F2d.36.427.27055.html Taylor V. Bd Of Education

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by 1950. In the following decade the black population increased by 91%, while the white population decreased by 5% in the City as a whole. Thus by 1960, when blacks comprised approximately 20% of the City's total population, a transformation of the schools and community had occurred in the demographics in less than a decade. That figure grew to 30% with perhaps as many as 80% of these residents living south of the railroad tracks which bisect the City.

A host of legislative activity across the nation had enacted a canon of new law: Title IV of the Civil Rights Act (1964) called for surveying school districts and providing funding and technical assistance to help districts desegregate.

Furthermore, Title IV allowed the Justice Department to file school desegregation suits. Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act stipulated that programs or activities receiving federal funding could not discriminate against individuals based on race, color, or national origin. HEW was responsible for cutting federal funds and making sure there was compliance. Civil Rights Act (1964), Public Law 88-352.

So when a case was brought in the US District Court in September of 1967 alleging that Mt. Vernon had intentionally manipulated district lines through gerrymandering to create segregated schools, it was part of a wave of court cases throughout the nation as coordinated by the black churches, black student
associations and The National Association Advancement of Colored People. Paul Zuber was the attorney representing the Bryant family as he had the Taylors in New Rochelle in 1961. The court did not find his argument persuasive-or compelling-on the grounds that, "The racial imbalance, conceded present in the Mount Vernon Schools, could only have come about by reason of the movement of Negro population into the affected zones, the movement out of white population and the removal of many of the remaining white children to private and parochial schools."145

In fact by 1985 Mt Vernon’s population shift had become so extensive that upon the death of Mayor Thomas E. Sharp Jr., Ronald A. Blackwood, who came from Kingston, Jamaica, to Mount Vernon in 1950, claimed victory in a two-way race for mayor edging out Italian Democrat turned Republican by almost 600 votes to become the first black elected mayor in the State of New York.146


146 BLACKWOOD CLAIMS MAYORAL VICTORY IN MT. VERNON By LENA WILLIAMS The New York Times Published: January 26, 1985

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With all 55 election districts reporting, unofficial returns showed Mr. Blackwood, a Democrat, had about 10,000 votes. His opponent, Italian John R. Branca, a Democrat running on the Republican line, had 9,400 votes.

Subsequent victories for African American candidates in Mount Vernon at all elected levels did not automatically translate into civil service employment at the entry and supervisory levels for Blacks across the board in municipal government. The Vulcan Society in Mt. Vernon is a special interest organization that advocates for the employment and training of new Black firefighters. They brought suit as late as 1978 to increase minority representation in Mt. Vernon’s firefighter ranks. The resulting decree settled a federal discrimination lawsuit filed by the society, which charged the fire departments in Westchester’s four largest towns - Mount Vernon, White Plains, New Rochelle and Yonkers - with discriminating against blacks in hiring, promotion and testing procedures. They agreed, among other things, “to undertake in good faith to make promotions to the ranks of fire officers in the Defendant Fire Department[ ] so as to achieve the goal of a fire officer corps ... which reflects the proportion of Blacks among the
firefighters of [the] Defendant Fire Department." The decree set hiring goals to have the percentage of black firefighters equal the percentage of blacks in the labor force between the ages of 18 and 44 in each town, based on the latest census. In Mount Vernon, the 2000 census showed a population of 18- to 44-year-olds that is 28 percent white, 60 percent black and 12 percent Hispanic. The city's Fire Department is 46 percent white, 50 percent black and 4 percent Hispanic. Of its officers, 69 percent are white and 31 percent are black.

Segregated residential patterns impact these near urban suburban communities 50 years later in such profound ways still. Researchers studying this closely noted that living in the suburbs does not necessarily imply living outside of ethnic neighborhoods. They found that minority populations in the suburbs increased in general, but that blacks lived in neighborhoods that became increasingly segregated as compared to Asian and Hispanic populations which tended to be less segregated. An extreme is marked by African Americans, who remain concentrated in large cities and are also the group most segregated in both city


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and suburb. Moreover, when blacks reside in suburbs, they tend to be found in
suburbs that are more ghetto like, having large minority populations, relatively
high proportions of residents in poverty and other features atypical of suburbs.”
Yet, is it really just the economics? Certainly it seems to stand to reason that in
smaller communities where there are low-socioeconomic status residents in
close proximity to more affluent residents that the flow of public resources to
areas in which these groups live would be better than in larger urban areas or at
least the same irrespective of color. In fact, most research on the
suburbanization of blacks in the early period emphasized their concentration in a
limited number of suburbs, many of which were already recognizable as black
suburbs in 1960. In several respects, these suburbs were more similar to central
cities then they were to white suburbs, especially with regard to their residents’
low socioeconomic status, age employment and emerging fiscal problems. 149
Researchers found that in communities like New Rochelle and Mount Vernon
there is a pattern in the relationship between public resources and black
suburbanization; that the rate of black population increase is related inversely to
expenditures on infrastructure. So while communities of color grew, and needed
more classrooms, housing, public services and infrastructure development to
support a growing population, in fact less was produced. In Westchester, a

149 Op Cit Mark Schneider and John Logan
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Landmark lawsuit was filed on the basis of the lack of integrated housing around the County as a whole, New Rochelle and Mt. Vernon both having high populations of minorities were not part of the agreement, rather the cities were the exception that helped to prove the rule. Today black and Latino home buyers and renters still encounter racism in the county marketplace. When a fair housing audit group called Westchester Residential Opportunities sent trained testers into Westchester communities outside of New Rochelle, Mt. Vernon, Peekskill & Yonkers and into areas targeted by the Settlement of the suit they still found consumers being steered into sections of the county based on race alone. ProPublica an independent news corporation that produces investigative journalism in the public interest conducted a study on segregation in Westchester asking the question of where citizens would live if residential patterns were to be based solely on class, and not race. They produced a map of Westchester as a result that was far more integrated, “If income were the only determinant, and black residents settled wherever they could afford, Westchester would look dramatically different. Areas such as Yonkers and Mount Vernon where African
Americans are heavily concentrated would be a lot less black. More affluent places such as Eastchester, Scarsdale and Bronxville, now overwhelmingly white, would be significantly more diverse -- even if the county did not build a single unit of affordable housing.\^{151}

This finding is the last important piece as we wind our way to the head of these trails which we started in the first, on the Indian paths, those the Dutch and the Huguenots used along with their enslaved to haul and clear the land to make our towns and cities.

We have demonstrated that the structural inequality, combined with the lack of access to the polity, or connection of political structures in the minority communities to political machines in Westchester, and historic systematic hostility officially and though instances of mob violence in the colonial, pre- and antebellum period, as well after between and after the World Wars, have led to the undercutting of those African-American communities, those who needed nothing more than what was given to every immigrant group before them in

\^{151} Nikole Hannah-Jones. ProPublica, Feb. 12, 2013, 5:25 p.m
http://www.propublica.org/article/mapping-segregation-in-westchester

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employment, housing, access to the polity and freedom from state sponsored
terror.

We will show in these last instances how this changes, as the racial composition
of the incoming outsider group swells again. How the rapid rise in population of
the Hispanic immigrant community from 1970-2010 prompted a new shell game
where there are to date few winners. The Hispanic immigrants arrive, establish
themselves, and learn to navigate the political system in competition with African
Americans. Why do these groups appear to compete for political crumbs instead
of formingcoalitions; why not seek a special voting district? There is evidence of
the tussle if not on the streets, then in the court houses.
Chapter 18........ Cotija, Quitupan and Jiquilpan: the road to Union Ave

The Valencia family arrived in New Rochelle one by one, starting with the patriarch Antonio Valencia, who left Mexico in 1954. Mr. Valencia was working as an insurance agent in Mexico City at the same time New Rochelle Councilman Vergara was visiting. Through a dint of fate—each visiting the same church at the same Mass, Mr. Vergara and Mr. Valencia met through the local priest. When Councilman Vergara learned of Mr. Valencia's desire to come to New Rochelle.
the United States he and his wife offered to bring him into their home as a domestic worker in spite of his inability to speak English or even Spanish as the Purhépecha people in the region of the Michoacan State where he is from largely spoke a Meso-American Quecha dialect from the central-western region of Mexico. Mr. Vergara recalls being the very first Mexican to immigrate to New Rochelle. Unlike other parts of the New York region where Mexicans come mainly from the Puebla region east of Mexico City, in New Rochelle most Mexicans are descendants from the tight cluster of towns in the central-western region where Mr. Valencia grew up in and around Cotija, Quitupan and Jiquilpan. Once here they would find their way to New Rochelle with his name and telephone number.

And the community grew. Homeowner relied on these workers to maintain the “pastoral aesthetic and place-based identity of those who live in leafy suburbs... deeply embedded in the landscape are human costs invisible to the eye “. In 1990 less than 4% of the total population in New Rochelle found their roots in

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152 A New York State Documentary Heritage Oral History Project conducted in 2001 traced the migration of 22 individuals from Puebla, Mexico to New the Unite States. Audio recordings and transcripts completed in the “Latino Oral History” course taught by Roger Panetta, Ph.D, at Marymount College, are now part of the library’s “Antonio Valencia Collection: The Mexican Community in New Rochelle”.

153 Duncan, James, and Nancy Duncan. "Can't live with them; can't landscape without them: racism and the pastoral aesthetic in suburban New York." Landscape Journal 22.2 (2003): 89

Civic Goods: A Minority Report
Mexico, that figure grew to account for about 10% of the City’s total population in 2005. By 2000 Hispanics accounted for almost 20% of the city’s residents. Year over year increases in the City Hispanic of Latino population in New Rochelle jumped by 48 percent—from 14,492 in 2000 to 21,452 in 2010. City planners struggled with declining revenues just as the population of immigrants surged, and worriedly looking at the impact on overall test scores for the new English learners. A statistically young population, the New Rochelle newcomers were already filling up classrooms in the elementary schools on the south and west ends of the City, and crowding the local hospital wards. As burgeoning as the City’s Hispanic population had become, it was in spite of its size, segregated to Union Avenue neighborhoods behind the City Hospital and on Washington streets—the formerly Italian enclave of the West side of New Rochelle in Council District 1, and in North Avenue corridor of District 3 the historically African American district. The difference in this group from the Italian one preceding it by three generations? The franchise of citizenship. The former received citizenship with all but a few exceptions, to the latter there is no more room at the inn and the franchise is almost categorically denied. The immigrant population was 5.4 percent of the total U.S. population in 1960. By 2012, immigrants made up 13 percent of the total U.S. population. Still, today’s share of the immigrant

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population as a percentage of the total U.S. population remains below its peak in 1890, when 14.8 percent of the U.S. population had immigrated to the country.

So What gives?

While the Latin Americans who came to New Rochelle were hopeful about the prospect of citizenship for themselves; they were pragmatic. They were willing to stay without it; they were here after all, and their children attending the schools perhaps had a better shot. The community however was marginalized by their uncertain immigration status. This made local political organizing an initially extremely furtive activity, as many new residents were fearful of deportation. Hispanic workers and their families toiled long unregulated hours in the County's commercial laundries, construction, landscaping and restaurant industries. Without worker protections, injured workers were often dropped from the trucks at the end of the day making their way to hospital and clinics in the city on their own, never given a second look by employers after the injury for fear of liability claims. Undocumented workers without a safety net lined up mornings for Trinity St. Paul's Episcopal Church for the brown bag lunches, during the recession their numbers swelled each day to alarming numbers until some either returned home, or to other areas in the county, unable to wait out the recession. In the neighboring village of Mamaroneck the police and town fathers made a
concerted effort to ticket, attempt to harass and arrest Hispanic day laborers who congregated on the local streets awaiting the trucks and cars of the contractors and those who might hire them for the day. In 2006 the Puerto Rican Legal Defence and Education Fund filed a law suit seeking an injunction from the local police on behalf of the Day Laborers. The court found in the workers favor, noting that the right to free speech and assembly is not limited to natural born citizens.

The patron Mr. Valencia, having worked for over 25 years as a houseman and driver for councilman, then Mayor of New Rochelle Vergara; his Cotija family’s legacy displayed at the Public Library as part of an historic collection about immigration to New Rochelle, had to leave as he had no pension and no means of support after the Vergara’s passed away.

“After a life spent helping others, Mr. Valencia, for lack of money, had to move to Connecticut, he said. He lives in a house provided him by an order of priests that was founded by a fellow Cotija native. He still commutes an hour almost every other day to New Rochelle to visit his friends, aid others and look at what he...
helped create”. Never having the opportunity to formally represent his community in the polity, Mr. Valencia’s community require and deserve a voice at City Hall in equal measure to their number but representation eluded them at election time. Because of their varying immigration status as a group, the Hispanic community’s population did not necessarily correspond to numbers of eligible voters. They were denied a voice in their electoral districts those that coincided with the Republican white Italian District 1 and Irish district 6 where they would be outnumbered in at-large elections, and also with the historic African-American Council Old District 3 a mandated majority minority District. How did blacks effect some representation on the local level; it was of course again as ever through the courts.

The New Rochelle African American population in 1991 was in decline, from 12,689 in 1980 to 12,166 in 1990 and the white population showed even steeper declines. In this same period the Hispanic community doubled in size from 3,800

155-New Rochelle Library Project Honors Mexican Immigrant Who Helped Others "By PETER BELLER The New York Times
Published: September 10, 2000
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The African American community tried over the years to remedy the At-Large voting system, and after the census, the city’s Italian leadership—largely Republican—were hoping to put changes in the City’s voting distributing plan to a city wide election before their time ran out.

African-American leadership hoped to cut this measure off at the pass, prior to the referendum. Real drama. A lawsuit with bona fide movie star plaintiff. Filed by the Center for Constitutional Rights in Manhattan on behalf of the city’s more than 12,000 black residents, the suit sought to eliminate New Rochelle’s practice of choosing members of the City Council through at-large elections since the city’s charter in 1899. African American plaintiffs argued that Black residents, while represented in every neighborhood, were concentrated in the Lincoln avenue and historic district area which included City Hall. 66% of the African-American population lived in that geographic area including the author. This was considered a ‘threshold’ condition that was a hallmark for successful Voting Rights Act cases as had been litigated in the South. Changing from At-Large to special minority districts had appeal as many knew a minority candidate would win a seat on the council. The courts would need the plaintiffs to demonstrate that a special district of 65% minority population that was cohesive and large

\(^{156}\) US Census, 1990 and 2000
Civic Goods: A Minority Report
enough and to prove that the whites voted as a block (Gingles & Goosby case law standards)\textsuperscript{157} in order to justify the change. A city that is perfectly integrated could not form such a district. Ossie Davis legendary film star and activist husband to Ruby Davis was named to the suit, the family having lived in the district for over 30 years.\textsuperscript{158} The African-American community became restive and dissatisfied because of the perceived non-accessibility of public office and began to agitate for the elimination of At Large voting. The matter had been associated with a failed referendum to both do away with at-large elections and move to a Strong Mayor model. In the end the City decided to concede victory in advance of the court order to do so, and immediately dispatch a negotiated special minority majority drawn line in District 3.

In 2003 after the census, the Republican and Democratic party in New Rochelle had a turf war on the reapportionment issue again. This time the Republicans supported charges made by Roberto Lopez that the reapportionment of District 3 ruled in previous years, had disenfranchised the Hispanic vote.

"Roberto Lopez, is a Hispanic-American citizen and resident of the City of New Rochelle. At trial, Counsel for Mr. Lopez expressed concern that if the Court ordered any specific relief in favor of the Plaintiffs following trial, that such relief might conceivably be detrimental to the rights and interests of Hispanic voters in

\textsuperscript{158} Davis v. City of New Rochelle, 156 F.R.D. 549 (S.D.N.Y. 1994)
New Rochelle and stated that Mr. Lopez intervened essentially to defend the *status quo* and to have standing to object to any remedy which this Court might order. \(^{159}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2010</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic White</th>
<th>Hispanic Origin</th>
<th>African American</th>
<th>Asian American</th>
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<td>48%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Wide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 1</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 3 (old)</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 6</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Clearly, based on the statistics, the Hispanic communities size warranted representation. Had the city wide district plan been adopted it is likely that the Hispanic community may have won an At-Large election, by forming alliances to effect the election. But what made this case interesting is that it appeared that the Republican sought to pit Hispanic voters against African-American voters in District 3 in order to maintain the district lines that allowed them a majority in District 1 and 6 in spite of the question as to whether Hispanics population merited a special district themselves. (The court found that Lopez did not meet the data collection standards needed to make this case.)

Further study of the relative merit of the creation of special districts should be done, as majority minority districting may breed gerrymandering, be inefficient and less democratic than semi-proportional voting according to Lani Guenier,

“Winner-take-all territorial districting imperfectly distributes representation based on group attributes and disproportionately rewards those who win the representational lottery. Territorial districting uses an aggregating rule that inevitably groups people by virtue of some set of externally observed characteristics such as geographic proximity or racial identity. In addition, the winner-take-all principle inevitably wastes some votes. The dominant group within the district gets all the power; the votes of supporters of nondominant groups or of disaffected voters within the dominant group are wasted. Their votes lose significance because they are consistently cast for political losers.”

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As these redistricting issues are revisited with each census, it would behoove minority voters to work together in order to effect a voting system that enhances—such as cumulative voting and does not marginalize voters—such as At-Large election. These systems can approximate the one-vote, one-value principle by minimizing the problem of wasted votes. Voting did matter, but even as Blacks in New Rochelle gained representation on City Council, this would not equate to reform in civil service hiring, improving the number of minorities in the ranks of police, fire, and municipal services, and in the council–manager government/Weak Mayor model, the real power to sign contracts and negotiate the City contracts lay in the city’s manager who was an unelected official.
Fig 30 Citizens anxiously awaiting to cast their votes at the Mount Vernon Public Library
"Mt Vernon says Yes to its Library" by Tamara Stewart

“All Tax Caps are Derivative”

So here we are at the end. New Rochelle, the fictional home of the Petries on the
Dick Van Dyke show of the 1950’s, its residents depicted by former resident

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Norman Rockwell in his most quintessential American images of what were his neighbors, and the first northern city court-ordered to desegregate. New Rochell remains a storied leafy suburb located in Westchester County just northeast of New York City. While Westchester is the 4th wealthiest county in the state, New Rochelle has a total population of 10.7% of its residents living at or below the poverty line.

Again, New Rochelle is the seventh largest city in New York State. It is an urban-suburban area, with its library situated in the heart of the most densely populated section. New Rochelle is home to three colleges, 7 public elementary schools, two public middle schools, a number of private schools, a large public high school that flies 61 flags representing the rich and diverse cultures of the city’s 79,453 residents. According to the 2013 estimates based on the 2010 Census, New Rochelle resident population today is 65.2% White ‘alone’, 27.8% Hispanic or Latino, and 19.8% Black or African American ‘alone’. Yet, in contrast, the City School District student population is comprised of 40% Hispanic or Latino, 31% White, 25% Black or African-American according to the New York State Department of Education’s 2009-2010 report. Over 40% received discounted or free lunch. New Rochelle counts 39,199 total registered voters. Nearly 23,000 or 60% of those registered to vote are White, with only 15% or 5,861 identified as
Hispanic voters and less than 7%, or 2,714 of registered voters are likely African-American.

The demographic difference between the average voter, taxpayer, and the average user of the public facilities, set the stage for the tussle over the funding of municipal expenditures that has been repeated over again in communities across the state, and the nation. Since property taxes are the most common source of funding for public services its easy to draw the connection between communities with affluent property owners and corresponding “good” schools, clean streets, and pretty parks.

Mt Vernon

Mount Vernon is a densely populated suburban-urban city covering four square miles with a high concentration of poverty in what is colloquially known as its south side, as we have demonstrated. Railroad tracks run through the center of Mount Vernon, and for decades divided it roughly into rich and poor, white and black, privileged and under-privileged, with the latter living south of the tracks. The demographic data in the New York State Report Cards reflects clearly that a concentration of high needs children is situated in proximity to Mount Vernon’s south side elementary schools and along its western corridor. Mt Vernon, with a
Roxanne Neilson

population of 68,218; roughly 62% Black or African American ‘alone’ 24% White, and 14% Hispanic or Latino, is as diverse as New Rochelle, certainly together moreso than the whole rest of the predominantly White towns in the County outside of Yonkers and Peekskill. Mt Vernon also shares with the County the distinction of having higher property taxes than other municipalities across the country, but also has a total population of 14% living at or below the poverty line and within some census tracts poverty rates are as high as 33%.

Communities in Westchester County shoulder some of the highest median property taxes in the United States, according to a study done in 2013. What is unique is that in New Rochelle and other diverse affluent communities, it appears that the presence of minorities fuels taxpayers resistance, giving rise to a plethora of grassroot organizations loudly protesting wasteful spending, illegal immigration, unfounded mandates, and the “free lunch” welfare state in general. This in spite of the finding that, “average property taxes are low by historical standards when measured as a share of the economy” In the larger suburban-urban cities like New Rochelle and Mt. Vernon, Westchester “deciders”, do not mirror Westchester public patrons. In fact, the increasing pension liabilities and

161 City of Mt Vernon Consolidated Plan 2010-14 Saccardi & Schiff, Inc. Planning and Development Consultants White Plains, NY page ES-3
162 Residential Property Taxes In the United States Benjamin H. Harris and Brian David Moore Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center November 18, 2013
health care costs for sanitation, police, firefighters and public personnel- largely White- along with a phenomenal growth of school population when the commercial tax base and state aid was in decline, coupled with a certiorari appeals\(^{164}\), goes a long way to explain competing and escalating community needs and forms a better basic context from which to view the whole picture of local finance priorities, municipal expenditure, voter initiatives.

New Rochelle is in this sense no different than many communities across the State. According to the NYS Office of Real Property Services,\(^ {165}\), the formula for property taxes involves each jurisdiction or authority estimating its expenses against the income it receives from state and federal aid, sales tax and any fees. The authority then divides what remains across the tax base. While the County homeowner knows they pay some of the highest taxes in the country, few lines are drawn to the municipal workers, County governments, or public employees salaries, pensioners and beneficiaries- most of whom were hired at a time when there was rampant local graft and patronage assignments and there was no equality in access to employment. And while all cities in the County are in the

\(^{164}\) Westchester Towns Take Hit From Rise in Tax Appeals  
\(^{165}\) "Property Taxes and Assessments." Department of Taxation and Finance. 14 Feb. 2015.  
http://www.tax.ny.gov/pit/property/default.htm  
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same boat, the loudest protests come from those communities who are most
diverse racially. Really.

Stemming from California’s landmark initiative known as Proposition 13 in 1978,
and Massachusetts Proposition 2 ½ in 1980 one of the most popular ways in
which communities chose to limit property taxes has been by imposing property
tax levy limits. By 2012, 38 states utilize some type of property tax levy limit 166.

Levy limits work by placing a dollar or percentage cap on the amount that
property tax levies can change from one year to the next- either pegged to a
discrete fixed percentage or to the CPI consumer price index or rate of inflation-
allowing in most cases for exceptions based upon a great public works project or
the like. In 21 of the states applying levy limits, an important feature of the limits
is the ability of local voters to override the limit by utilizing a referendum process
which is regularly done in homogeneous communities, but not so much in
communities like New Rochelle and Mt. Vernon.

Studies find that the share of a city’s budget allocated to productive public goods
(roads, education, libraries sewerage and trash pickup) decreases as ethnic
diversity increases. Let’s see how we wind up at the Library.

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New Rochelle's City 2002 budget was $76.6 million. The proposed budget in 2003 indicated that there were going to be massive cuts in municipal departments in order to meet the cap. As the 7th largest city in the state with a budget of over $110,000,000, New Rochelle leaders were nevertheless wringing their hands over balancing increases in pension, insurance, and benefit costs for their retired civil service employees, and funding existing services against state mandated restrictions on increases to taxpayer-funded local budgets or tax caps. The political fallout from the cuts kept local politicians up at night calibrating how each cut would impact their constituents through the Winter 2002 budget planning season.

By December the city officials parried with journalists trying to deflect questions as to how they decided what cuts would be made. Chuck Strome, the non-elected City Manager, announced the proposed cuts would close the City's Drake Avenue Firehouse, lay off 16 firefighters and delay hiring 18 additional firefighters along with other planned cuts to the City's Fire Department and Police Department budgets bringing the budget in under the tax cap. This was a red herring if ever there was one. The City's Fire and Police departments had been sacred cows for generations. The City Manager also noted incidentally in the Civic Goods: A Minority Report
interview that, “The bottom line is we don’t have any money and all we do is cut, cut, cut... and next year we have to do it again” The article noted- almost incidentally that in addition to the approximately $1.8 million dollars saved by “slashing” the Police and Fire budgets, the budget proposes reducing garbage collection to once a week, eliminating street sweeping and reducing financing to the library and programs for the elderly to save a total of $4.4 million.

Homeowners fed up with staggering real estate taxes eyed the council members warily as they represented the proposed budget increases and cuts in neighborhood meetings. Republican party members angling to defeat Democratic Mayor Tim Idoni wanted to make the story about years of financial mismanagement under the democrats. The showdown was occurring by degrees as each municipal department made tough choices, picking which battles to fight and which to forfeit with the city’s local unions. The City saw the opportunity to jettison the Library from the municipal budget and capture those dollars to cover escalating pension and insurance cuts, and civil service jobs. It wasn’t long before the Library trustees learned that year that it was not in compliance with a state law passed in 1996 that required school districts to submit their budgets to a public vote. The legislation also affected- you guessed? Mount Vernon.

Civic Goods: A Minority Report
Under the New York State Small Cities Act of 1996, libraries of small cities (population under 125,000) that were chartered as school district libraries must have voter approval before any tax can be levied. In 2002, Commissioner Richard Mills reaffirmed that the New Rochelle Public Library was a School District Library and so the City of New Rochelle had no obligation to fund it. Following this decision, the City removed the Library from its charter and voted to fund the Library only through June 2003. Interestingly, Mayor Ernie Davis, in the Strong Mayor city of Mt. Vernon, was loathe to spin off the Library, as perhaps he did not see it in his party’s political interest to have an independent taxing authority outside of his own administration’s control.

Until that point, and for all the years prior, the libraries in both cities had been fully funded under their respective municipal budgets; New Rochelle’s Library budget in 2002 was $2.8 million from a total City budget of $76.6 million representing 3.7% of the total. Mount Vernon’s Library Budget in 2001 was $2.0 million from a total budget of $80.9 million representing a 25% share of the total expenditures for the city.
Republicans charged that the City’s democrats in the case of New Rochelle were using the law to save money so that they could cover the shortfalls that would otherwise demonstrate poor fiscal management. They encouraged homeowners to vote “NO” on the independent budget which the library had put forward and had now been successful gutting their constituents - those who had little use of the library- vote the proposed budget down twice. A crisis was at hand. How could a City- 7th largest in the State- and one that so valued thinking, culture and education not have a library thought the citizens on the North end even if they weren’t patrons themselves. A volunteer group in the City had restored a small children’ branch and, as a result was able to quickly mobilize important support ( Volvo driving, latte drinking liberals) for the Save the Library initiative. In July of the following year, the state turned its attention to Mount Vernon, where city officials and library trustees vowed to oppose the state mandates. “the impasse between the state and the city had become more intractable.” wrote the Times.
Who did the library serve? According to Westchester Library Statistics, the libraries in New Rochelle and Mont Vernon ranked 2nd and 3rd in the county for overall transactions over 700,000 for 2001 in New Rochelle, and over 125,000 transactions for Mt. Vernon. Both Library’s had over 1500 Free programs a year teaching English to immigrants 6-7 days a week. Morning, afternoon and evening sessions were solidly booked when the recession hit and jobs were scarce. Each library hosted story hours for preschoolers as well as free summer programs for kids, after school tutoring, performances, exhibits and museum passes for families. Though it was always discouraged nonetheless parents in both cities with no after school program options sent their children to the libraries to hang out until they could be home from work. The homeless used the facilities as warming and cooling centers. Free tax return assistance was provided as well as certified DOL employment counselors were on site weekly. Computer classes were offered in Word and Excel but also Adobe Photoshop. The libraries became wall to wall with both North End and South End residents and acted as community centers in an emergency when power went out city wide during hurricane Sandy.

With more than 600,000 books, the Mount Vernon Public Library has the largest collection in the Westchester Library System. As for the digital divide: Libraries in
New Rochelle and Mt. Vernon served then and now as the only reliable and free source for broadband access, internet services, and training.

The WLS study conducted found that the heaviest users of libraries — immigrants, seniors, jobseekers and students/schoolkids — rely on the institutions now more than ever for help with English-language learning, computer skills, internet access, internet literacy training, job research, and as a community hub. “The demand for libraries’ limited resources has outstripped the supply of both computers and bandwidth: 87 percent of urban libraries report having insufficient computers, and only 17 percent of rural libraries offer broadband speeds greater than 10 Mbps, compared with 57 percent of urban libraries” in 2011 a survey was conducted of 54,000 households and 129,000 persons, and found that more than 68 percent of U.S. households use high-speed broadband access, but almost ¾ of Americans do not have access to these subscription based services at home.”

Not every student has the same access to the internet and the same ability to use those devices as learning tools when they’re away from school. Although the perception of many is that internet access is now nearly ubiquitous, the reality is
that somewhere around 30 percent of American homes still do not have it. “\textsuperscript{169} Clearly the library was serving the public good by providing high speed internet services at no direct cost to the consumer. This was a very good example of how the privileged electorate’s campaigns did not reflect the actual population’s desires.

Both Cities found a small group of concerned citizens who voted to tax themselves more to keep libraries open, as the good overwhelmed the dubious. In New Rochelle it only took a total of 7,048 or 2,844 votes more than the naysayers in 2003. In Mt Vernon 56% said yes to the additional tax and that was accomplished by a very small group of not more than 2400 total voters.

In each case the Library was jettisoned form municipal control and given the freedom to run their own budgets, elect their own board of Trustees, negotiate with their union locals, and offer services to the public irrespective of the cronyism found in other parts of the City’s administration. As Independent taxing authorities, these Libraries occupy a unique piece of real estate in the civic landscape. While in the immediate future, both New Rochelle and Mt. Vernon developers are at this very moment greedily eyeing the land that the Libraries


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both sit on as opportunities for air rights, sale lease back scenarios and other schemes, minority-majority groups should see the Library as a potential place where the levers of opportunity to control a taxing authority is well within reach.

Chapter 20 Conclusions
So What! What Now? Dr. Kathryn Morgan would exhort after an afternoon seminar in Black Studies at Swarthmore in the old Trotter building. Headlines are spiking towards the Summer of 2015 with miles of city streets being cleared.
for yet another protest of police shooting unarmed black men - the most recent spate warranting the attention and comment from a somewhat changed Attorney General's office post Eric Holder who became the 1st African-American to hold the office, when the first black woman to hold the office Loretta Lynch said, "There is hard work to do" to bring justice in these cases. 25-year old African-American Freddie Grey Jr. died of spinal chord injuries after a ride in a police transport van, the Baltimore residents who rioted believe 6 police officers tortured the black detainee to his death. One youthful black Councilman Nick Mosby in Baltimore interpreting the civil unrest, looting and burning of the commercial area including a CVS in the black neighborhood subsequent to Grey's death was reported to unpack the situation for listeners by noting that he thought looting was wrong, but that "broader, historical realities — like a paucity of investment and counterproductive policies imposed on struggling inner cities just like his — were like kindling." His wife Marilyn Mosby is the City's chief prosecutor and made a big a promise to the people that she would on their behalf seek justice; its a start.

Throughout the historic period from pre-contact with the indigenous Americans to whom a debt is still owed, immigrants all from the Dutch, to the English; in various immigrant waves and decades the Irish, Italian and the German- the civic goods have been given tenfold and that has become the promise of American citizenship: educational attainment, fair housing, and control of the political establishment, freedom from persecution and hostilities. These well worn paths became labyrinthine to subsequent waves of ethnic immigrant and ethnic minorities stymied by citizenship with in name only with no large scale creation of machines of opportunity and levers of advancement, no offer of citizenship at all.

Even as the numbers of minority groups expanded, real household income for native born African Americans did not, asset accumulation and land ownership was negligible, subjugation to both mob violence and state sponsored policing increased but participation in civil service did not, and control over civic institutions lagged even when political representation increased.

Exploring the relationship between black population growth, the pattern of expenditures on municipal public services- like libraries- and the tax rates levied
to support those services reveals an odd or counter intuitive pattern, one in which indicates less investment when more is required simply based on race. Patterns of local government expenditure affect the quality of future growth patterns of cities, and starving infrastructure investments based on racist tax policy creates a hollowed out main street as had occurred in New Rochelle. Citizens must be well informed that investments in infrastructure are critical for a city's well being. Such expenditures are one of the most effective strategies available to cities for attracting and keeping more prosperous residents and businesses.

Clearly in the 1970's, and 1980's blacks participated in the continued population shift to the suburbs. One of the most important demographic trends evident in the United States today is the rise of the Hispanic community in those same towns and villages and those even more remote from the southern parts of Westchester. Yet despite these positive trends, African-Americans were still channeled into a relatively few suburbs, and Hispanics into relatively few others. The growth of the black middle class and the emergence of the Hispanic middle class and the general expansion of the minority population in suburbia fundamentally have not changed the distribution and the types of suburbs open to minorities, or these groups influence on civic institutions like schools, policing and public housing. Still, the goal of racial equity in patterns of residential
distribution, representation in municipal jobs, equitable distribution of the civic goods in metropolitan areas remains a distant goal until groups wrest control of the working parts of the machine.

The road then does not end here. Tedious work can be done to reform electoral districts, but certainly these paradigms related to on the table bread and butter issues must change as well. As groups agitate for improved access to data for minority groups in order to justify the creation of even more special voting districts with crazier district lines, votes and power is wasted. Proportional models seem more democratic, if this is what is sought; improved participation and voter choice in direct proportion to population. Until then groups working together voting (those who can vote) in city wide coalitions to elect local officials that can control taxing authorities, even on a small scale like a library, can control a physical public place and begin to put mandates/levers in play to enable them to choose the civic goods that have the most meaning for their entire communities/constituents (those who can and cannot vote).

For those to whom reparations are owed, the road continues. This includes the indigenous Americans upon whose land titles, intellectual property in transportation, and diverse industries the nation still relies. To the native African American who is owed reparation like the Landrines, Stephensons and the Civic Goods: A Minority Report
Metz’s from the hostility and enforcement of state sponsored violence, and the original labor of their family members whose compounded value has not been returned to them; to the dividends of participation in Federal housing programs due to service in military that they were denied, to exclusion in fair housing and banking, or predatory lending until today for the vast majority of African Americans, there must be some accounting. That the seeming intransigent nature of this then historic poverty and exclusion, state sponsored violence is absolutely nothing new, should demands no further study- but in the context of class action which should be assembled to trace the African-American descendants of those original enslaved in Westchester. Starting with those descendants, who in many cities like New Rochelle can be traced from the oral, written and genetic record. It is hoped that these pages help to push the call for that work forward, and put back in small part what was left out.


Appleborne, Peter. "Before Hosting Bandstand, Growing up in a City with a complicated Story."


Roxanne Neilson


*Civic Goods: A Minority Report*


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